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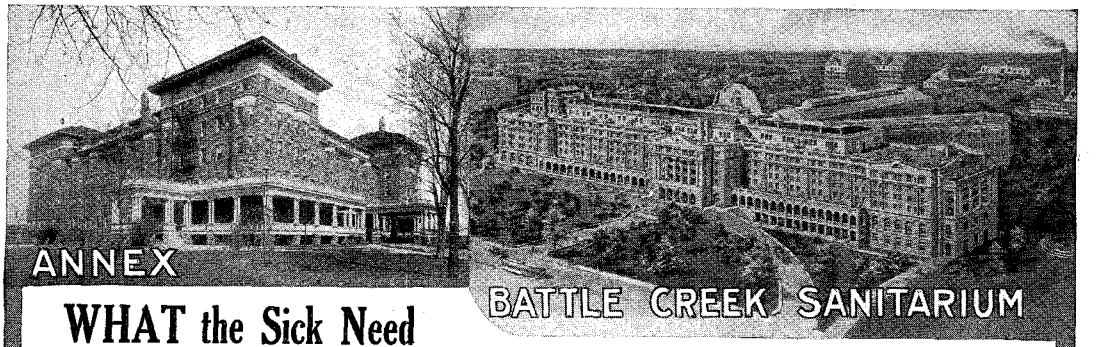

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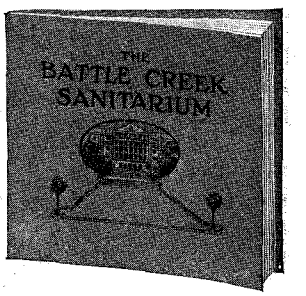

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The Outlook

MARCH 30, 1912

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

SUGAR AND INCOME TAX LEGISLATION

The most notable recent event in Congress has been the passage of the Sugar and Excise Tax Bills. The first would make sugar free. In this case the Government would lose nearly sixty million dollars in revenue from the taxes paid to it by the importers of sugar. Such a proposition, affecting, as it would, our cane sugar industry, and the beet sugar cultivation in seven States, together with its effect upon Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, should receive the most careful treatment. To make up the loss of revenue from sugar, an Income Tax Bill has been proposed. But the Supreme Court has declared a general income tax unconstitutional, for lack of necessary apportionment among the population, and the States are now considering the acceptance or rejection of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, giving Congress undisputed authority to impose such a general tax. The Supreme Court, however, has upheld the existing corporation tax as Constitutional. Hence Mr. Underwood, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, has conceived the idea of extending its provisions, and in this way to obtain the practical results of an income tax law without violating the Supreme Court's ruling. He proposed, and the House has now adopted, a tax, legislatively intended as an excise, the subject of the tax to be the conduct of business, which, according to a uniform line of decisions by the Supreme Court, is a proper subject of an excise tax. In brief, then, the proposed tax is an excise on the privilege of doing business. The corporation tax was held good because corporations have privileges withheld from private citizens, but it is not the same thing to say that it is a "privilege" to do business in a partnership or individual capacity. To try to collect the tax on that score might seem open to defeat in the courts. Moreover, the proposed tax does not touch those rich men who are not in business but live on their possessions, whatever they may be; real estate, mortgages, and various securities—anything but a private business of buying and selling. And yet the bill would seem, as reported, to tax the income of the "business" of being a lawyer or a doctor! Furthermore, the plan of self-assessment embodied in the bill would be a premium upon deceit. It remains to be seen whether the bill, when examined by the Senate, will not be modified in this respect.

POLITICAL HAPPENINGS

The first Presidential preference primary in the history of the United States was held last week, Monday, in North Dakota. In this primary the voters of the State were given the opportunity of declaring their choice for the nominees of the respective parties. According to the law, it is presumed that each Democratic voter would designate on his ballot the name of the man whom he would like to see the Democratic party nominate, the Republican voter the man whom he would like to see the Republican party nominate, and so with the Socialist and any other party. Each voter was required to denominate his party preference. In this case, however, there was only one name—that of Governor Burke—on the Democratic ballot. There was thus on the Democratic side no party contest. In contrast to this, the contest in the Republican party was very vigorous, and in some respects bitter. The three candidates on the Republican ticket were President Taft, Mr. Roosevelt, and Senator La Follette. The result of the Republican primary was a large majority for Senator La Follette over both the other candidates. Out of the forty-eight thousand ballots cast, those marked for President Taft numbered barely more than three thousand. The real

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contest was between the supporters of Mr. Roosevelt and the supporters of Senator La Follette. The managers of Senator La Follette's campaign regard the result as a proof that Senator La Follette is accepted in North Dakota as the real leader of the Progressive Republicans, and an indication that the "stand-pat" element in the party is behind Mr. Roosevelt! The managers of the Roosevelt campaign, on the other hand, declare that the La Follette victory is due to a coalition of the various forces that are opposed to Mr. Roosevelt's nomination, including not only La Follette supporters, but also supporters of Mr. Taft, and Democrats. Undoubtedly a great many Democrats cast Republican ballots, and there seems to be no doubt that the great majority of such Democratic votes were cast for Senator La Follette. Democrats could do this by simply indicating that they preferred the Republican party. Under some primary systems this would be impossible, for Republican ballots could be given only to such voters as had been for some time enrolled in the Republican party. There are two reasons given why so many Democrats wished to cast ballots for the Republican nominee. One is that such Democrats regarded themselves first of all as Progressives, and, seeing no necessity for voting in the Democratic primary where there was no contest, used their votes to make sure that the Republican whom they regarded as most nearly representing their ideas should be made the choice of the Republicans. The other reason is that the Democrats regarded Mr. Roosevelt as the most formidable opponent of the Democratic party, and therefore cast their ballots in order that one less formidable might appear as the head of the rival ticket. It is highly probable that some Democratic votes were cast for one reason and some for the other. During the fortnight just preceding the primaries, in speeches made in North Dakota, Mr. Bryan spoke highly of Mr. La Follette. The similarity of the views of these two men, though of opposite parties, has long been well known. That is an indication of one of these two reasons. On the other hand, the importance of the other reason is indicated by the fact that prominent machine Democrats openly worked for La Follette and called for Republican ballots. The result in North Dakota illustrates the disadvantage of that form of direct primary which makes it possible for the voters of one party to help choose the nominees of another. This, however, has nothing to do with Presidential preference primaries specifically. We have had occasion heretofore to point out this disadvantage in certain primary laws affecting State and local nominations; and, moreover, whatever disadvantage there is in this particular case applies in another way quite as emphatically where no primary exists. If, indeed, one party is to interfere with the nominations of the rival party, it is better that it should be done openly by the voters than secretly behind the closed door of party bosses. The really significant thing about this Presidential primary in North Dakota is that the voters had a chance to express their wish in selecting party nominees, and they took advantage of it. The vote was surprisingly large, especially in view of the fact that during the day throughout most of the State there raged a blizzard.

MR. TAFT'S BOSTON SPEECH

The educative discussion of political principles which is preceding the National Conventions particularly marks the public debate between the different elements within the Republican party. For the present at least, interest on the Democratic side is confined practically to the question as to the respective chances of the different candidates. On the Republican side, however, although newspapers are doing what they can to inject into this debate disputes with regard to personalities, the important thing is the clash between two tendencies and two sets of principles. On Monday of last week President Taft addressed the Massachusetts Legislature. In this speech President Taft expressed his pleasure that the Legislature had passed a Presidential primary law and his assurance that the Legislature had safeguarded the primary ballots. He condemned the voluntary Presidential primaries which are not protected by law as "soap-box" primaries, and declared them "worse than none" because they provided an "open avenue for fraud and violence." Though he recognized that corruption has existed in the Government, he declared that "the cry that the people do not rule and are not in control, or an intimation to that effect, does not do justice to the American people or their history," and that there was nothing in the growth of this country that justified any "sapping of the foundations that have stood so firmly and upon

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which our whole popular civilization has been reared." Then he proceeded:

> The occasion for these remarks is the attack upon our judiciary and the proposal by judicial recall, or recall of judicial decisions, to destroy its independence, and thus to take away from the arch of government the keystone. I deny that there is in the decisions of the courts, or the character of the judges, or the result of litigation, that which justifies such a radical innovation. I am not unmindful of the necessity for judicial reform, but that depends not upon the changing character of the judges, but upon the change of procedure, the expedition of judgments, and the reduction of the expense of litigation.

The President deplored the tendency to "exalt above the written law and above the written Constitution what is called 'popular will,'" and as he concluded he said: "This is a government of law, not of changing economic or political theories of judicial or executive officers when those theories are in conflict with the express letter of the law." Mr. Taft's speech represents one of the two tendencies in the Republican party, the tendency of resistance to change. Of that tendency the President has made himself the chief spokesman. He sees no great instances of social injustice which the courts have rendered the government of State or Nation powerless, or nearly powerless, to remedy. Whatever defects he sees are the defects of machinery in ordinary cases of litigation, but not those defects that are created by the inability of a judge or a group of judges to understand the conditions of life with which a law deals or to respond to the moral sense of the community that condemns certain social abuses. Likewise, the President's influence has been set against change in election and primary laws. He approves the Massachusetts law after it has been enacted, but he has said little or nothing which would encourage other Legislatures to pass a similar law. Such a supporter of the President as the New York "Times" misrepresents him in this respect, we are sure, for it interprets his approval of the Massachusetts Legislature's action as evidence that he has no apprehension with regard to the outcome of a Presidential primary in that State. We cannot believe that the President could be guided by any such consideration as this. Nevertheless, it remains true that with regard to election laws, as with regard to the reform of the courts, and particularly the reform of dealing with Constitutional questions, Mr. Taft is on the side of inertia. The President's reception in Massachusetts was uniformly described as most cordial. In particular, as he entered the legislative hall in the State House he was enthusiastically cheered.

MR. ROOSEVELT'S CARNEGIE HALL SPEECH

In contrast to the position taken by Mr. Taft is that which has been taken by Mr. Roosevelt. As Mr. Taft represents the Conservative tendency, so Mr. Roosevelt represents the Progressive tendency. No speech of Mr. Roosevelt's more nearly expresses his position and the principles for which he stands than the Carnegie Hall speech which was delivered on Wednesday of last week and printed in the issue of The Outlook for March 23. As on other occasions, Mr. Roosevelt departed at various points from the exact form of his printed speech, frequently making interpolations. In one of these interpolations he commented upon President Taft's characterization of American government as "government of the people, for the people, by a representative part of the people." "This," Mr. Roosevelt said, "is an excellent and moderate description of an oligarchy," and he expressed his preference for Lincoln's definition of American government as government of the people, by the people, for the people. In contrast to Mr. Taft's view that an attempt to appeal to the people from a decision of the judges, when the judges' view of the Constitution clashes with the Legislature's view of its right to correct a great social wrong, is an overriding of the Constitution itself, should be placed Mr. Roosevelt's statement that such an appeal is not an overriding of the Constitution, but an interpretation by the people of their own sense of justice which the Constitution itself makes the sanction for the use of the police power. In other words, Mr. Taft says that whatever the judge declares the Constitution means is the letter of the Constitution, while Mr. Roosevelt declares that, as regards matters involving social justice, what the people declare the Constitution to mean is the letter of the Constitution. The audience that listened to Mr. Roosevelt's address was remarkable alike in size, in character, and in responsiveness. A competent observer who has had occasion to see various gatherings in Carnegie Hall for the past twenty-five years has remarked that but one gathering—a meeting in the Cleveland-Harrison campaign in

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1892—could be compared in numbers with that audience in the hall, in the street, and in the adjoining Lyceum (where an overflow meeting was held), and that never had he seen an audience so widely representative.

BROKEN RAILS

When we consider that the steel rims of the wheels of an onrushing train rarely break, though resting against a solid surface, it does not seem as if the shock of that train ought to be sufficient to break a modern heavy steel rail which does not rest against an altogether solid surface. But it is. The list of accidents from this cause for this year culminated recently in the wreck of the New York Central Twentieth Century Limited at Hyde Park, near Poughkeepsie, New York. In this case, because of a defective 112-pound rail—the heaviest laid down—the train catapulted into the Hudson River; the water is at this point about fifteen feet deep, but the ice was strong enough to impede the plunge of the cars and to bear their weight long enough to give the passengers time to escape drowning. These Twentieth Century trains, along with the eighteen-hours-to-Chicago trains on the Pennsylvania system, are the finest and fastest in the world. The public demands such trains. Hence, it is said, the public is to be blamed for the accidents to them. A train may be never so fine in its equipment of heavy steel cars, and may run never so fast—of what avail if the railway curves are too sharp, if the roadbed be insufficiently ballasted, if the rail spikes do not keep the rails in place, and if the rails themselves are not right? As to curves, every properly laid out curve is so balanced as to make persons in the train as little conscious as possible that there is a curve at all. In other words, the outer rail is elevated to such a degree as to counteract the centrifugal force of the moving train. But it often happens that even when tracks are supposedly properly laid, either the curve is still too sharp or the speed too great, as was seen in the Salisbury accident in England some years ago, and the Bridgeport accident here last summer. In that case either the curves must be remedied or the speed lessened. Hence the need of a supervisory commission of some sort to adjust speed to curves. Most railway companies do this of their own motion, as far as they can; but when we remember that during the past decade defective rails have caused over two thousand accidents, we may well pause to inquire whether there should not be a Governmental investigation. If there were, it would doubtless bring out the fact that the railway companies and the steel manufacturers alike sincerely want a rail which shall insure perfect safety. As it is natural for the railway company to wish a rail to last as long as possible, it demands that a large proportion of carbon be used in the manufacture. While this is good in one way, it is not good in another, because the extra carbon makes rails liable to become brittle. But it may be discovered that in the process of finishing rails they may be made to become, by being more evenly cooled, as durable as are the steel rims of car-wheels.

SOME NOTABLE EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISES: TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

No educational institution in the country, white or colored, is doing a more efficient or more useful work in education than Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, under the direction of Dr. Booker T. Washington. At the present moment the trustees of Tuskegee Institute are making great efforts to increase the endowment fund of that institution to a point that will relieve its distinguished head and his associates from the necessity of exhausting themselves in the work of raising money, so that their chief energies may be expended in the actual work of education. On its educational side Tuskegee was never more successful than it is to-day. It has grown from the most modest beginnings until it has a campus and a group of buildings which for architectural beauty and for efficiency of design would be a credit to any college in the land. Nearly two thousand students, young men and young women, are being trained, not only intellectually but practically, to be working citizens and to carry on the steady uplifting of their race, which the South more than any other section of the country now recognizes is the only possible solution of the Negro problem. Dr. Washington, who is one of the great American educators of the time, is the inspiring personality that has created Tuskegee, but after Dr. Washington has passed with the rest of us out of the sphere of human activities the Negro people of the United States will remain, and Tuskegee must be enabled, as it undoubtedly will be enabled, to carry on the work which he inaugurated and is to-day directing with real genius. Not only are

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the trade schools of Tuskegee models of their kind, where wagon-making, carpentry, blacksmithing, dairy farming, dressmaking, millinery, brickmaking, cooking and housekeeping, bookkeeping, and practical agriculture are so successfully taught that most of the graduates have become prosperous and property-owning citizens, but theoretical education is made vital, because applied to human experience in a very striking fashion. A recent visitor to Tuskegee describes how he found the students of arithmetic working out on the blackboard arithmetical problems in linear measure and percentage by showing how much plaster it would require and what the cost would be to plaster one of the recitation-rooms of the institution; how the class in geometry was demonstrating by Euclid the scientific method of attaching the shafts of a cart to the cross-bar so that the cart would pull straight; how the class in grammar had gone out into the truck garden and had brought back into the recitation-room ears of corn and cabbages and was writing grammatical sentences about them on the blackboard; how the student of chemistry in the laboratory was analyzing the clay from which all the bricks are made that are used in the Tuskegee buildings; how the pupils in geography had in their room some of the products of Japan and some of the products of Alabama and were being taught why these products were exchanged and what route they would travel in the exchange between Alabama and Japan; and he wished that grammar, geography, arithmetic, and geometry might have been taught to him in this human and absorbingly interesting fashion. Tuskegee is not only a very important factor in the solution of the so-called Negro problem, but it is a practical experimental laboratory in education, out of which the whole educational movement in this country is getting suggestions and help. Leading and influential Southerners recognize Dr. Washington as one of the foremost citizens and educators in the South, and are giving him hearty support. What Northern business men think of the work of Tuskegee is indicated by the fact that Mr. Julius Rosenwahl, the head of the great firm of Messrs. Sears Roebuck & Company of Chicago, has recently become a member of the Board of Trustees, of which the President is Mr. Seth Low, former President of Columbia University in the city of New York. We hope the contributions to the Tuskegee endowment fund from Northern benefactors will be generous.

SOME NOTABLE EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISES: MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

The so-called higher education for women has reached such really splendid proportions in this country that it is often forgotten how recent was the beginning of the movement out of which the American colleges for women have grown. One of the pioneers in woman's education in the United States was Mary Lyon, whose name ought never to be forgotten by American women and the sons of American women. On the 8th day of November, 1837, Mary Lyon opened in a small plain brick building at South Hadley, Massachusetts, the "first permanent chartered school for the higher education of women" in this country. On the foundation which was thus laid has been built Mount Holyoke College, which next October will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary. The officers and alumnæ of the College are now endeavoring to raise a much-needed endowment fund of $500,000 as a part of the celebration of this seventy-fifth anniversary. Mount Holyoke College has some special grounds for its appeal to the generous who are interested in woman's education. It is beautifully situated, well equipped, directed by a group of devoted and accomplished teachers, and yet it is so managed that many young women who cannot afford a large expenditure in their education can afford to avail themselves of its opportunities. Mount Holyoke College, while its intellectual standards are high, lays special emphasis upon the best social and religious development of our National life. In its early years large numbers of its graduates entered the work of home and foreign missions. To-day its spirit of service is so broadened that its graduates are frequently found either voluntarily or professionally engaged in the social, religious, and philanthropic movements in our great cities and rural districts. The Mount Holyoke Bible School in Boston last summer is an illustration of this kind of work. This school is the largest of the eight of its kind in Boston. It had last summer 422 children enrolled and an average attendance of 108, representing all ages, from six months to fifteen years, and many nationalities, such as Jews, Italians, Irish, Scotch, Swedish, Russians, and Armenians. Gymnastics, music, sewing, and other indus-

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trial arts were taught, and there was a kindergarten for the very small children. Young women who are inspired with this sort of interest in social service in their education cannot fail to be helpful in any community in which they may live. Mount Holyoke is an academic institution, and grants the degree of A.B. in course, with requirements for high standard of scholarship on the part of its graduates, but it may also fairly be called a great social service institution, and it is on that special ground that its claims are well justified for the support of those who believe in social service in this seventy-fifth year of its life.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Senator Carroll S. Page, of Vermont, has introduced into the Senate of the United States a bill which provides that the Federal Government shall appropriate annually a sum of money amounting to about twelve million dollars, to be divided among the States and Territories in certain fixed proportions, for the encouragement in State secondary schools and agricultural colleges of the teaching of agriculture, trades, industries, and home economics. At first glance the amount involved in this bill, twelve million dollars annually, seems very large, but Senator Page points out the fact that twelve million dollars is less than the cost of building and equipping a single battle-ship. One of the provisions of Senator Page's bill is that any State secondary school or agricultural college which applies for funds under the proposed Federal appropriation must make an annual report to the Governor of the State of its financial and educational operations and standing. This report must be certified by the Governor to the Secretary of the Interior, who will be charged with the administration of the proposed law, together with the assistance of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. We do not undertake to pass judgment upon the details of the bill, but we do say that its general purpose deserves the serious consideration of the educators of the country. The Department of Agriculture is now, in a limited and restricted way, endeavoring to promote practical agricultural education in the various States. The functions of the National Government in this direction ought to be enlarged. We are in hearty sympathy with the fundamental object which Senator Page has in view. The prosperity and welfare of the United States depend primarily upon agriculture, and skill in the trades, the mechanic arts, and home-making is essential to scientific agricultural operations. We hope that Senator Page's bill will have wide public discussion, and that its fundamental purpose will meet with wide public sympathy. The details as to appropriation and operation can be settled only after the farmers and educators of the country have determined to adopt every reasonable and legitimate means of devoting a portion of the general tax fund to the scientific and efficient education of American boys and girls in the fundamentals of practical American life.

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN

After what seemed to threaten not merely an industrial but a political crisis of the gravest magnitude, the situation arising from the coal strike in Great Britain seemed less threatening at the end of last week. The probability then appeared to be that Mr. Asquith's Minimum Wage Bill would be passed and signed. The opposition to it has been strenuous, and it has proceeded from both Radical and Conservative elements in Parliament; yet the absolute necessity of immediate action of some kind is so apparent that neither opposing element is likely to accept the responsibility of stopping any genuine effort to end the crisis. The labor element in Parliament has opposed the bill chiefly for two reasons: one is that it does not fix a minimum wage throughout England for the miner, but provides for local boards which shall take up the existing facts in different mining districts and fix rates accordingly—and in this connection it may be pointed out that the narrow margin between the miner's actual cost of living and his wages is indicated by the fact that the labor unions have contended for the inclusion in the bill of a minimum wage of $1.25 a day for adults and fifty cents for boys; the other ground is that the bill includes measures of compulsory arbitration, at which the unions balk. The opposition of the Conservatives was voiced by Mr. Balfour in a brilliant speech which helped allay the political storm by its assurance that, even if the bill should be adopted, there would be no dissolution of Parliament. Mr. Balfour based his opposition, which was temperately but

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earnestly expressed, on the belief that the Government was making a mistake of the utmost magnitude in attempting to rush an experimental law through Parliament without considering the effect it would have on the country's prosperity or the real constitutional questions involved. Mr. Balfour's amendment, which would have killed the bill, was defeated by a vote of 348 to 225. It was expected in England at the end of the week that the bill would go through its final stages within two or three days, and hope was strong that work would begin at the mines almost immediately. Meanwhile actual suffering and the congestion and stoppage of business have already resulted from the strike. In one manufacturing town alone, Burslem (familiar to readers of Arnold Bennett's tales of the "Five Towns"), forty thousand meals were served in the Town Hall in eleven days at a charge of one cent per meal to those who could afford it. This state of things existed in a very large number of towns, while many employers all over the Kingdom have been advancing money to feed their own employees who have been thrown out of work. Here again is a clear indication of the narrow margin between the existence and non-existence of large classes of wage-earners in Great Britain. We who are struggling with similar industrial questions in the United States should note, however, that the Government of Great Britain did not wait until the men were actually on strike before if took cognizance of the danger. Long before the strike went into effect the British Government was active in trying to bring together the contending parties, and to a certain, and unfortunately restricted, extent it has such powers. One of the difficult points in the situation is that the mine-owners claim that the strike is made in disregard of existing agreements between workers and owners, and that there is no practical way, if this be true, of forcing the unions to pay penalty for the violation of agreements. In New Zealand such power exists, but neither in Great Britain nor in the United States. The American strike situation changed little last week. No compromise agreement was reached by the anthracite miners and operators, and the men will go out on April 1, while in the soft-coal region it seems perfectly certain that the men will also cease to work on April 1 unless the advance in wages, refused by the mine-owners, is granted.

THE ENGLISH NAVAL PROGRAMME

Mr. Winston Churchill, like his father, has the instinct for the dramatic moment, and takes the center of the stage at the exact place where the limelight flashes. His recent speech in the House of Commons was a striking illustration of the way in which the habit of frankness can be dramatized. The relations between England and Germany are still very sensitive, and the strain, although relaxed for a moment, has by no means ceased. When, therefore, as the First Lord of the Admiralty he began a speech in the House of Commons with a tribute to "the robust minds, the strong masculine good sense and high courage of the German people," which, he declared, "do not recoil from and are not offended by plain, blunt statements of fact, if they are expressed with courage and sincerity," and then went on to announce that England proposed to maintain a naval superiority of sixty per cent over Germany in the matter of battle-ship building for the next five or six years, there was what the reporters call a "sensation" in the Commons and, the next day, in Germany. Whatever programme Germany may fix upon, England will instantly parallel and exceed at the rate of eight to five. If Germany retrenches in her building of dreadnoughts, England will retrench; if Germany adds to her expenditure, England will add to hers. Mr. Churchill has notified Germany that it cannot gain in naval power by expansion, nor, on the basis which he has laid down, can it be the loser by any diminutions. German opinion appears to be divided; one influential journal announces that, while Germany cannot bring her navy up to the standard in point of strength of the English navy, she can make it so powerful that England cannot destroy it without disabling herself.

THE INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONFERENCE

A particularly interesting international gathering—the International Opium Conference at The Hague—recently ended its sessions. Twelve Powers were represented. Bishop Brent, of the Philippines, Chairman of our delegation, was elected President. He had been President of the International Opium Commission at Shanghai three years ago, and it seemed appropriate that he should be President of the larger and weightier gathering. Other American delegates were Dr. Hamilton Wright, of Maine, the eminent specialist, also a delegate to the

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Shanghai Commission, and Mr. Henry J. Finger, of California. The Shanghai Commission was called together to investigate the facts of the opium traffic; the Hague Conference was empowered to agree upon the Commission's recommendations and commit the various Governments to a definite policy. The results of the Conference register a positive advance in dealing with the opium and allied evils. First, the Conference amply recognized the principles of our own Opium-Exclusion Act of 1909, the Philippine legislation, and the proposed legislation before Congress. Second, regarding the manufacture of and traffic in morphine and cocaine and their respective salts, England and Germany were chiefly interested, as a large part of their export is destined for India and China, where their use has often actually taken the place of that of opium. But the United States is also a large manufacturer, though not an exporter, of both morphine and cocaine, and our Government was desirous of the action which the Conference took as an incentive to the passage of drastic legislation in this country.

CHINA AND OPIUM

But the Powers were not able to commit the Conference to a special action as regards China alone. The independence recently asserted in China itself as regards a change in the form of government there was also asserted by the leader of the Chinese delegation at The Hague. He declared that, for the first time in her relations with the treaty Powers, China had been invited to a Conference which vitally affected her, and that the time had passed for the larger Powers to treat her on a separate basis. This statement was supported by our own delegation—a repetition of our support during the sessions of the Shanghai Commission, which in turn was consistent with our policy as to the opium traffic, for from our treaty of 1844 to the present time the United States Government has always maintained that American citizens should not become parties to that traffic. Certainly, as we started the movement towards an international settlement of the evil, we are morally bound to enact the anti-narcotic bills drafted by the Department of State and now before Congress. These bills have had the support of the President, and of Secretaries Knox and MacVeagh. Unless they pass, our Government will be under the just suspicion of lukewarmness or of inability to do its part to make good the decisions reached at an international conference in which we took the initiative.

NEW PRINCIPLES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

According to our law of 1909 if a man is found with opium in his possession, the very fact is deemed illegal except when it can be proved that the opium is to be used for medicinal purposes. This idea was adopted at the Hague Opium Conference, and, as soon as the convention is ratified by the various nations, will become a new principle of international law. Thus America forges to the fore as an international law maker. A second such principle is with regard to prohibition of exportation. In the sessions of the Shanghai Commission of 1909 our delegation declared that opium-producing countries should take measures to prohibit the exportation of the commodity to prohibiting countries. Another feature of the Conference was its recognition of the reasonableness of the idea that any principles of law to be applied to the international traffic in opium, morphine, and cocaine should be regarded as principles by the whole world and not merely by the twelve Powers which were to sign the Hague Convention. Hence the twelve Powers represented at The Hague requested the adherence of the remaining thirty-four. Nor is this all. In connection with this action, the agreement of the Conference was secured that in all future international conferences Latin America should be adequately represented. Thus the International Opium Conference has not only given a setback to the illicit traffic in habit-forming drugs; it has also embodied in its convention several new principles of international law.

A PAINFUL INCIDENT OF THE TURCO-ITALIAN WAR

The Outlook has been inclined to believe that the people and Government of Italy were led to declare war upon Turkey by a real desire to promote social justice in Tripoli. But the war has now dragged on so long, with so little apparent improvement of conditions in Tripoli, and with so many manifest violations of civilized rights, that our desire grows for friendly intervention by the United States or some non-interested European Power by which the war might be brought to a close and the questions at issue between Turkey and Italy might be settled by arbitration. The bombardment in February of the innocent city of

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Beirût, Syria, by Italian war-ships is one of the occasions in this war which the civilized world ought not to let pass by without protest. In a recent issue of the New York "Sun" there is published a letter from Dr. Howard S. Bliss, President of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirût, which shows that to some extent at least the Turco-Italian war is unnecessarily barbarous. Syria is a Turkish province. Early in February there lay in the harbor of Beirût some small vessels of the Turkish navy. War-ships of the Italian navy approached the harbor, demanded the surrender of the Turkish vessels, and, when they were not immediately surrendered, opened fire. In his letter Dr. Bliss says that the bombardment was totally unexpected, that the non-combatant population of the city had no notice, and that forty people, many of them non-combatants, were killed by the bombardment, and eighty were more or less seriously wounded. The American College, of which Dr. Bliss is the head, was uninjured by the sudden attack. "They fired quite a number of shots," many of which were wild and went screeching over the city, falling on the sands near the municipal hospital. Dr. Bliss continues:

> While all this was happening in full sight of the College the scene on the College campus was unique in the history of the institution. The College tower was crowded with professors and staff and members of the professors' families. Not only were all the students and the rest of the teachers in evidence, but hundreds of people from the vicinity crowded through the gates. This was done by permission, the only condition being that no one should be allowed with arms of any kind, and that all must enter at the central gate. The American flag was placed upon the lightning-rod of the College tower, and I sent to the Consulate for six flags to place upon the hospitals and at the extreme western limits of the grounds, on Professor Hall's house.

The College buildings were thus not injured, although it was momentarily expected that shells would fall upon the College property. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirût is recognized throughout the entire Mediterranean region as an educational institution of very high order. It is wholly non-political, and its admirable influence is recognized and approved by broad-minded Mohammedans. Dr. Bliss concludes his letter by saying: "We gratefully realize that the College stands as a sample of kindly protection in the minds of Beirût, both Moslems and Christians," and he asserts his opinion that the war which led to this bombardment is an offense to civilization. Dr. Bliss's account of the bombardment ought to attract public attention in this country anew to the admirable work which the College at Beirût is doing, both for education and for international peace, and to the necessity of some kind of action on the part of the civilized Powers to bring the war to an end and the questions in dispute before an international arbitration. A letter from Dr. Bliss on Italy's "wanton aggression" in this war will be found elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook.

GEORG BRANDES AT SEVENTY

Many things may happen in the life of a man in seventy years, as the eminent Danish critic, Mr. Georg Brandes, discovered on his seventieth birthday, which fell on the fourth day of last month, and which was made the occasion, throughout the Scandinavian world, of an extraordinary expression of admiration and affection. Forty years ago Mr. Brandes was anathematized in all orthodox circles, political, religious, literary, and social. The lines on his face show how bitter was that fight against the hard crust of conventionalism which overspread the Scandinavian world like a thick coating of ice. No one can understand the intensity and bitterness of Ibsen's revolt unless he knows the rigid conformity, the stereotyped piety, the artistic subserviency to foreign standards against which he rebelled. Professor Brandes was his interpreter to the English-speaking world. Georg Brandes was regarded by the people of the highest respectability in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden as an atheist and anarchist, and, like Socrates, a destroyer of youth. As a matter of fact, he was simply fighting the battle for the liberation of thought and for freedom and vitality in art, a battle which has been fought a hundred times and will be fought a hundred times more; for the war of the liberation of humanity is an age-long struggle, and the last victory will not be won until the last day of human history. Brandes was not softened by the bitterness of the attack upon him. He is a born fighter, as his face shows; alert, energetic, aggressive, daring, loving the fight for the fight's sake. He has been the protagonist of the movement for freedom in the North.

HIS BOOKS

Mr. Brandes may be called the most intimate friend of Poland; a country about which he has written with insight and eloquence. The two large vol-

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umes which contain his study of Shakespeare do not command the assent in all particulars of Shakespearean scholars, but the vitality of his interest and the freshness and vigor of his statement place the work among the most valuable in modern Shakespearean literature. The man whose name forty years ago was the synonym for everything that was destructive is now honored as the foremost intellectual representative of the Scandinavian world. A new and finely illustrated edition of his Shakespeare has been published; the Royal Academy of Copenhagen has opened a Brandes Archive in which is to be collected everything bearing on Brandes, with letters and manuscripts; and the Chairman of the Danish Authors' Society, who made the address on the occasion, said among other things: "We transfer to the Royal Library the Georg Brandes Archive, not as a valuable gift only, but as a monument of a man; a significant man, who, by knowledge and clearsightedness, threw new light on many things; a courageous man, who disinterestedly fought for what he thought just and against what he thought unjust; a good Danish man, who did honor to his country." A correspondent of the "Nation" reports that the Danish "Spectator," to which Mr. Brandes has been a contributor, issued a special Brandes number. In Norway the greetings from prominent men and women have been printed in a commemorative volume, and agree in their estimate of the immense influence the critic has exerted on the development of individual and national life. In Sweden the same testimonial has been paid in periodicals and newspapers. Fifty representatives of English literature and art sent congratulatory addresses. Mr. Brandes, who is more interested in work than in recognition, and who has probably gone so long without recognition that he can now dispense with it altogether, has for the time being left his house on the harbor front in Copenhagen, where, of an evening, he sits among his books, talking with immense energy and pictorial power, and has gone to Paris, where he is avoiding festivities of every sort. But it was characteristic of him, as the "Nation" correspondent reports, that he recently gave a lecture in that city for the benefit of a poor old newspaper woman whom he found in a street near his hotel. Such a history as this ought to have a lesson for men of another generation, who would do well to heed the maxim of a Latin writer, "neither to laugh nor to cry, but to understand." As a rule, every new interpretation of life or of art is greeted either with a shout of derisive laughter, or with imprecations and curses. A generation ago, for instance, "Tristan and Isolde" was scarcely given a hearing; to-day it is heard by immense audiences. A generation ago the theory of the growth of society as an evolution was greeted with merriment or with outcries, and those who supported it were branded as atheists. To-day one of the most spiritual and far-seeing religious leaders has said of it that it came to light just in time to save a great many of the most thoughtful men and women from despair. So the world continues to stone its prophets; and, if they die young, to build monuments to them; or, if they live through the storm and stress, to send them congratulatory addresses on their seventieth birthday.

MEN AND RELIGION

At a dinner given, March 14, at the Broadway Tabernacle, some four hundred gentlemen of New York City and vicinity heard from leaders of the Men and Religion Forward Movement what it has undertaken and effected during the past half-year in some seventy cities by an eight days' campaign in each—this as introductory to the same in New York. The "new evangelism" developing on this continental scale greatly differs from the familiar type of evangelistic revivals. It reckons, as that did not, with the new intellectual and social interest and unrest. It undertakes to restate the old Gospel in modern forms of thought, and to take the area of social unrest into the area of the preaching of the Gospel; to remove causes of social injustice, to adjust business to righteousness, and by socializing religion to "multiply tenfold the motives for Christian living." Its method is, first, to get soundly based in the facts relative to its work; next, training of the workers by experts. Details of this system were given in The Outlook of December 16, 1911. Its encouraging results thus far were reported at the Tabernacle dinner: "It exceeds all expectations;" "Some things have changed forever;" "Christian unity has been set forward a quarter-century;" "A great increase in Bible study and of church members;" "A new era in Christianity;" "It is epoch-making." That there were some local exceptions to the general result was also

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stated. Dr. Gladden's written opinion may be wholly relied on: "The most salutary influence which has visited the churches of this country since my ministry began [1860]." The campaign continues a month longer. Then the results of its work for men and boys in nearly a hundred cities and two thousand adjacent towns of the United States and Canada will be presented at the Christian Conservation Congress, which meets in New York City, April 19–24, to plan for the continuance and spread of the Movement. One of its most interesting and promising results is the invitation given by the Governor of Tennessee to the Governors of the Southern States to meet for the consideration of what the Movement has revealed in the line of social service.

THE WOMAN'S EXHIBITION IN BERLIN

No less than ten million women earn their daily bread in Germany by labor outside of the home. A Woman's Exhibition in Germany is appropriate enough in any event, but is particularly interesting because Germany has often been called a man-dominated Empire. At the present Exhibition at Berlin everything displayed is either made, arranged, or managed by women. Even the orchestra which gives daily concerts at the Exhibition is composed of professional women musicians under the baton of a woman conductor. A particular feature of the Exhibition, very German in its tendency, is the department devoted to women in agriculture. The number of women in Germany who do hard manual and physical labor on the land has no proportionate parallel in America or England. The aim of the organizers of the Exhibition is not so much to remove woman from agricultural labor as to show how she may be better equipped for her struggle amid present-day economic conditions. The chief importance of the Exhibition centers in the department devoted to social work. A German women's congress is being conducted simultaneously with the Exhibition, which, of course, forms an effective practical background. American and English women will be interested to learn of the discussion of a number of questions new to Anglo-Saxon womanhood, such as the suggestion of a *weibliches Dienstjahr*—that is to say, a term of compulsory service by women in the interest of the State, corresponding to the compulsory military service which is a part of the male German's duty to his country; in the case of the women the work would lie along social welfare lines—the Red Cross, etc.—in place of military service. Other questions now being debated by the congress are the functions of girls' schools as a preparation for domestic or professional life, the suffrage, and the importance of the woman's movement as affecting the relation of the sexes and as promoting the fitness of woman for family and social life.

THE BURIAL OF THE MAINE

With the impressive ceremonies at Washington arranged to take place on Saturday of last week in the presence of the President, his Cabinet Ministers, and Representatives of Congress, ends the tragic history which began with the destruction of the battle-ship Maine in Havana Harbor, February 15, 1898. The remains of the thirty-four victims of this disaster recently recovered and brought to Washington will lie in Arlington Cemetery, and the mainmast of their ship will forever stand over their graves as a memorial. The battered remnants of our battle-ship were committed to the sea on Saturday, March 16, with reverence and patriotism. Her hulk, after lying nearly fourteen years in Havana Harbor, a menace and hindrance to commerce, was raised and made to float by one of the most skillful feats of marine science, and to our army engineers, under the direction of General Bixby and the supervision of Major H. B. Ferguson, must be awarded the highest praise for an extraordinary and difficult piece of work. The Maine, with the American flag floating over her and with many hundreds of roses on her deck, was towed out past Morro Castle into the Florida straits, and there the sea closed over her amid the booming of National salutes from the American war-ships which formed her escort. In Havana memorial services had taken place, among them a solemn mass of requiem by the Rev. Father Chidwick, who was chaplain of the Maine at the time of her destruction. The Cuban authorities and the Cuban people joined in the solemn tribute to the dead American sailors, and the largest of all the floral tributes was one which bore the inscription, "From the People of Havana to the Victims of the Maine." In this country, the moment when the Maine

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sank was widely remembered and observed: in New York, as the clock struck three, bells all over the city tolled, flags sank to half-mast on ships and even on ferryboats, and by common consent work ceased for a few moments. History will probably leave the puzzling problem as to the ultimate cause of the destruction of the Maine unsolved, but it will accept as proved the official verdict (confirmed by the observations made after the raising of the Maine) that there unquestionably was an explosion of some sort on the exterior of the vessel, followed no doubt by terrible explosions in the interior, the latter caused presumably by concussion. The loss of the Maine and the excited and passionate cry, "Remember the Maine!" were not, as is sometimes said, the cause of the war with Spain, but they did form the match which lighted the fire of indignation at the unendurable state of things in Cuba and the refusal of Spain to remedy the evil.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND FOREIGN APPOINTMENTS

Last year Mr. Lowden introduced a bill into the House of Representatives to confirm by law that which now exists only by virtue of executive order—that is to say, the necessity of examinations as precedent to appointments to the lowest grades of the diplomatic and consular services and the promotion in those services by efficiency. Mr. Lowden's bill, we regret to say, did not pass. It has now been reintroduced in practically the same form by Mr. Sulzer, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. If the bill passes, it will be impossible for a reactionary President to appoint applicants as a reward for party services unless they stand the test of an examination, or, in the case of some inefficient favorite already in the service, to overlook the principle of efficiency as the only basis for promotion. If members of Congress do not yet realize the moral value of thus affirming the merit system, they should be able to understand that such a service permanently established by law would be of indubitable assistance to our manufacturers and exporters in extending their foreign trade. For years manufacturers and exporters have contended for this system. Hence, when the Acting Secretary of State invokes, as he has done, the support of the commercial organizations of the country for the bill now before the House, he makes an appeal which must inevitably touch very many commercial interests.

WESTERN RADICALISM

In these days of political and social agitation many men and newspapers in the great centers along the Atlantic seaboard, like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, regard the West as a hotbed of unintelligent and dangerous radicalism. Kansas, Oklahoma, and Oregon are looked upon by many well-trained, well-mannered, and orderly citizens of the East with the same sort of anxiety with which an orderly housewife regards a troop of vigorous and healthy boys who come rushing into the house after school, tracking mud, upsetting furniture, and making extraordinary demands upon her carefully regulated pantry. The Westerners should not whoop and hurrah so. It disturbs other people. How can a man sit down comfortably by his own fireside and read Theocritus when a lusty member of his own family is haranguing him about the necessity of reform! As the president of one of our great universities has pointed out in a recently published book on American Government, our American institutions have served us very well indeed for one hundred years, and would have gone on serving us very well for one hundred years more if it had not been for this foolish and noisy desire of the West for novelty!

Those who, like President Butler, of Columbia University, in the city of New York, regard the present social movement as merely an unintelligent hankering after novelty, were well described seventy-five years ago by that clear-sighted student of American institutions Alexis de Tocqueville, who said:

> It is evident to all alike that a great democratic revolution is going on amongst us; but there are two opinions as to its nature and consequences. To some it appears to be a novel incident, which as such may still be checked; to others it seems irresistible because it is the most uniform, the most ancient, and the most permanent tendency which is to be found in history. . . . There are virtuous and peaceful individuals whose power, morality, quiet habits, affluence, and talents fit them to be the leaders of the surrounding population; their love of their country is sincere, and they are prepared to make the greatest sacrifices to its welfare; but they confound the abuse of civilization with its benefits, and the idea of evil is inseparable in their minds from that of novelty.

The demands of the progressive people of our Western cities, which are shared by their

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fellow-progressives in the East, are not based upon a mere passion for novelty. It would be well if the Eastern conservative, even when he does not agree with the view of his Western fellow-citizens, would try at least to understand that view. In a recent striking address at the University of Virginia, the Hon. Franklin K. Lane, a member of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and a Western man by birth and training, gave an interpretation of the spirit of Western radicalism which we wish the students and faculty of every Eastern university might have heard. With great good humor Mr. Lane said:

> When you see the West adopting or urging such measures as Presidential primaries, the election of United States Senators by popular vote, the initiative, the referendum, and the recall as means supplementary to representative government, you shudder in your shocked way, no doubt, at the audacity and irreverence of your crude countrymen. They must be, in your eyes, as far from grace as that American who visited one of the ancient temples of India. After a long journey through winding corridors of marble he was brought to a single flickering light set in a jeweled recess of the wall. "And what is this?" said the tourist. "That, sir," replied the guide, "is the sacred fire which was alight two thousand years ago, and never has been out." "Never been out! What nonsense! Poof! Well, the blame thing's out now!" This wild Westerner doubtless typifies those who, without heed and in their hot-headed and fanatical worship of change, would destroy the very light of our civilization. But let me remind you that all fanaticism is not radical. There is a fanaticism that is conservative, and reverence for things as they are that is not less destructive.

Mr. Lane went on to argue that, of all the traditions upon which our Government is founded, the one from which our National life draws its greatest inspiration is the tradition that insists upon the "right of man to oppose injustice." "Is there any other tradition," he asks, "so sacred as this, so much a part of ourselves—this hatred of injustice?"

We do not say that every method proposed by Western radicalism for dealing with the manifest social and political evils of the time is sound and practicable, but we do say that the great progressive movement in the West is based on a real desire to establish human justice in every field of human activity. To denounce the progressive movement, whether it is found in the East or the West, in the Democratic or the Republican party, as a manifestation of a childish and unintelligent demand for novelty, is totally to misunderstand the spirit of the movement.

DR. WILEY'S RESIGNATION

After years of service which have resulted in the saving of no one knows how many lives and in unmeasurable benefit to the health of the American people, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley has resigned. Few public servants have such a record as he has made. For nearly twenty-nine years he was Chief Chemist in the Department of Agriculture. By his efforts, inadequately supported, he made the Bureau of Chemistry one of the great arms of the Government at Washington.

Within the last few years—in fact, ever since the height of the agitation which resulted in the Pure Food and Drugs Act—Dr. Wiley has been a National figure. He became such because the people of the country, without regard to party, have recognized not only the disinterested nature of his services, but also the remarkable executive ability, the courage, and the intelligence which Dr. Wiley has untiringly devoted to the welfare of all the people. Few men have proved more effective as fighters, and it is highly satisfactory that such a fighter has been on the side of popular rights.

Every man with a fighting spirit arouses criticism; and sometimes the criticism comes from people who are public-spirited. Such people cannot be classed among the opponents of Dr. Wiley.

The opponents whom Dr. Wiley has had to fight have been strong with the strength of money, of influence, and, to a large extent, of fraud and unscrupulousness. There is no use in pretending that the crafty and unprincipled have not resources which are denied to the honest and the decent, and in many cases the people whom Dr. Wiley has had to resist have been neither decent nor honest. Men who are willing to make money by methods which they know, or ought to know, would undermine health and inevitably in some cases lead to death, have, in the name of liberty, tried to block the attempts of the Government to supervise and regulate the sale, manufacture, and distribution in inter-State commerce of drugs and food. Such people form a small minority of the whole population. Dr. Wiley's most dangerous opponents, however, have not been these, but have been those men who, worshiping at the shrine of tradition and technicalities, have proved themselves potent allies of the unscrupulous and dishonest.

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Within the past year Dr. Wiley has been the center of a contest that for a while threatened his position in the Government. And for a while it seemed as if his dismissal from the Government service was almost inevitable, particularly since such dismissal was recommended by Attorney-General Wickersham. Happily, public opinion was instantly aroused, and President Taft disregarded the recommendation of his Attorney-General and retained Dr. Wiley as the head of the Bureau of Chemistry. Now Dr. Wiley has resigned, and his resignation has been accepted by the President in a letter which praises him for his services. The fact remains, however, that Solicitor McCabe and other opponents of Dr. Wiley in the Government service are yet in office.

It has been the misfortune of the American people during the present Administration to lose from their service two bureau chiefs of National prominence who have been conspicuous as defenders of the public interests as against special interests—Mr. Gifford Pinchot, who was a vigorous and effective defender of the people's property, and Dr. Wiley, who was a vigorous and effective defender of the people's health. Mr. Pinchot's successor has proved himself to be a man of ability and of public spirit, but has not made, and perhaps has not needed to make, such a record of aggressive advance as Mr. Pinchot made. Dr. Wiley's successor, however, ought to be a man who is not merely both efficient and public-spirited but also aggressive, because the duties that will fall to his lot are those that come upon a man who is defending a position against an enemy, and the best defense is made by the man that can strike first.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

We believe that the time is rapidly approaching when the American Indians, either as tribes or as individuals, must no longer be treated as the special wards of the National Government, but must take their place in the whole body of citizens, as the American Negro has taken his. A new complication which has arisen in the administration of Government Indian Schools confirms this belief.

The policy of complete separation of Church and State in this country is too firmly established to admit of debate. Those churches which believe that educational institutions maintained by the taxpayers and administered by the Government do not supply all the needs of the community for religious training and education are now under the necessity of supplying their own religious schools. We have, as a result of this policy—which is accepted as fundamental by ninety-nine out of every hundred American citizens, whatever may be their religious beliefs—Methodist colleges and schools, Presbyterian colleges and schools, Baptist colleges and schools, Congregational colleges and schools, Episcopal colleges and schools, and Roman Catholic colleges and schools. It is right that the adherents of these various religious bodies should develop and support their own institutions for their own purposes. It is not right that any of them should ask or expect Government support. The only branch of education left in this country in which there is any serious conflict or any serious irritation over this principle of the separation of Church and State is the schools for American Indians maintained by the Government in its capacity as trustee for its wards, the Indians.

This irritation has been recently aroused in an especial degree and brought to public attention by an order of the Hon. Robert G. Valentine, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Some of the schools formerly conducted for the Indians by the Roman Catholic Church have been taken over by the United States Government. In many instances teachers and employees of these schools, both ecclesiastical and secular, have been retained in the Government service as Government employees. Although the schools are no longer under ecclesiastical administration, these employees have, in a considerable number of instances, retained their ecclesiastical garb and insignia. Two months ago the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issued an order to the superintendent in charge of Indian schools, which reads as follows:

> In accordance with that essential principle in our National life—the separation of Church and State—as applied by me to the Indian Service, which as to ceremonies and exercises is now being enforced under the existing religious regulations, I find it necessary to issue this order supplementary to those regulations, to cover the use, at those exercises and at other times, of insignia and garb as used by various denominations. At exercises of any particular denomination there is, of course, no restriction in this respect, but at the general assembly exercises,

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and in the public school-room, or on the grounds when on duty, insignia or garb has no justification.

In Government schools all insignia of any denomination must be removed from all public rooms, and members of any denomination wearing distinctive garb should leave such garb off while engaged at lay duty as Government employees. If any case exists where such an employee cannot conscientiously do this, he will be given a reasonable time, not to extend, however, beyond the opening of the next school year after the date of this order, to make arrangements for employment elsewhere than in Federal Indian Schools.

Respectfully,
ROBERT G. VALENTINE.

Almost immediately after the issuance of these instructions by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs President Taft, presumably upon the complaint of some of the lay teachers and employees involved, rescinded the order, suspending it "until such time as will permit a full hearing to be given to all parties in interest and a conclusion to be reached in respect to the matter after full deliberation."

We can see nothing on the face of Commissioner Valentine's order which is not wholly in harmony with the essential principle of complete separation of Church and State in education, but if the President believes that the order is not in harmony with this long-established principle we are very glad that he has called for a full hearing. We urge a full attendance at the hearing of all those who are interested in Government education.

If it is impossible for the Government of the United States to conduct Indian schools in which the principle of the separation of Church and State is absolutely maintained—not merely nominally but actually, not merely in letter but in spirit—then we believe that the whole system of Indian Government schools should be abandoned. For it will be better for the country, Catholic and Protestant, to abandon its Indian schools and to turn them over to denominational missions or to private philanthropy than to jeopardize in the least degree the principle of the separation of Church and State, upon which rests, in the last analysis, the religious liberty of every denomination and of every individual.

The welfare of the Indian is important, but far more important is the right of every American citizen to form his own theological beliefs without the aid, the advice, the influence, or the compulsion of Government.

A THOUGHT FOR LENT

THE WAGES OF SIN

The sense of the presence of sin in the world is not so keen as it was in the ages when men were more given to self-examination; but the destructive power of sin was never so obvious and unescapable. The most striking confirmation of the waste and misery which sin works in society is not found to-day in theology or in philosophy, but in the newspapers. Every morning and evening, in every newspaper in the country, the awful devastation of character, happiness, and social welfare by sin is reported in great headlines. On every front page of every newspaper ought to be written the old and familiar text, "The wages of sin is death," for in those words are summed up half the happenings of the day. Murder, violence, theft, infidelities, and betrayals of faith of every kind are reported in columns of hideous detail; while the story of the brief madness of passion, violating the law to gratify the momentary impulse of nature, is told and retold with wearisome reiteration. There is very little of the prophetic spirit in most newspapers, but they perform with startling emphasis the prophetic function of declaring the immutable will of God in the moral order of the world.

The man who thinks sin a mere incident in the development of the race, a passing phase of imperfection, need only read his newspaper intelligently to see what dynamic force of disintegration resides in sin, and with what appalling certainty it brings degradation, misery, and death in its train. Men may philosophize about evil as they choose, and hide its real nature under pleasant phrases or behind scientific terms, but the fact cannot be disguised that sin is more hideous than ever. The old-time image of the devil with a brutal leer on his face was a far truer symbol of the evil in the world than the urbane and cultivated Mephistopheles of the modern drama. Art has been prostituted to spread a certain glamour over sin, and old and cultivated societies have devised conventions which clothe it with shreds of decency; but whenever and wherever the mask is torn off it shows a brutal, hideous, unhuman face. It poisons the sources of life, and tramples all true and holy things in the mire; and, though it sometimes escapes outward disgrace and visible penalty, it never goes unpunished.

There is moral disorder in society, but no moral anarchy; for the law is always

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enforced—not always *on*, but always *in*, the offender. The Furies do not always follow the lawbreaker with the clamor of brazen wings; they make their home in his heart, and hell becomes, not a vague nightmare, but a daily experience. The punishment of sin begins the moment it is committed, and no man or woman ever escapes the full penalty. For the punishment is within, not without; its certain and most appalling form is not arrest, trial, and legal penalty, but the disintegration of the moral nature of the man or woman who has sinned. The most appalling tragedy in life only incidentally gets into the newspapers; it goes on silently and, for a time, almost unobserved; but sooner or later the dead soul is as obvious as the dead tree. To see a man slowly but surely die at the heart, losing one by one the great faculties and qualities of his nature—moral sense, spiritual vision, integrity, honor, peace—is one of the heartbreaking experiences of life. So visibly dies the man who gives himself to any appetite, passion, or unlawful desire; to selfish ambition, to greed, to dishonesty, to any kind of lie. We cannot deceive ourselves with such words as heredity, environment, the right to live a "full life," the imperfection incident to growth, the passing shadow on the landscape; the fact remains that more obviously than ever in the history of the world "the wages of sin is death."

A SHORT POLITICAL CREED

EDITORIAL BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

A GOOD friend of mine who has been asked many questions about the political philosophy which I endeavored to interpret and formulate in my Columbus speech has put those questions in the form of a short catechism; and in answering them I have endeavored to outline the philosophy.

What is the aim for which political Progressives are striving?

The promotion of genuine popular government in America, the defense of human rights, and the establishment of social and industrial justice, so that every force in the community may be directed towards securing for the average man and average woman a higher and better and fuller life in the things of the body no less than those of the mind and soul.

Do you believe that the pursuit of this aim requires the adoption of new and radical principles?

No. I believe it requires a new and radical application of the old principles of justice and common honesty, which are as eternal as life itself. New methods and new machinery are needed for carrying these principles into our National existence; and also a broader sympathy, so that our justice may be generous and human, and not merely legalistic.

Do you believe in a short ballot?

I do. I consider it one of the most important methods to be adopted. By the "short ballot" I mean the principle of electing few men to important offices and making more administrative offices appointive. This is the method that is pursued in our Federal Government. The people have nothing whatever to fear from giving any public servant power so long as they retain their own power to hold him accountable to them. You will get best service where you elect only a few men, each of whom has his definite duties and responsibilities, and is obliged to work in the open so that the people know who he is and what he does.

Do you believe in direct primaries?

I do. In the State the primary should be of the simplest form (consistent with preventing fraud) that will enable each individual voter to act directly on the nomination of elective officers; in the Nation Presidential primaries should be so framed that the voters may choose their delegates to the National conventions, and at the same time express their *preference* for nominees for the Presidency. At the present moment our political machines are using their power to defraud the people out of their right to make nominations.

Do you believe in the election of United States Senators by the people?

I do. I think the people are just as competent to elect United States Senators directly as they are to elect Governors or

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representatives in Congress or State Legislatures.

Do you believe in the initiative or referendum?

Yes, under certain definite limitations. Action by the initiative or referendum ought *not* to be the normal way of legislation; I think the Legislature should be given an entirely free hand. But I believe the people should have the power to reverse or supplement the work of the Legislature, *whenever it becomes necessary.*

Do you believe in the recall?

I believe the people should be provided with the means of recalling or un-electing important elective administrative officers, to be used only when there is a widespread and genuine public feeling for such a recall among a majority of the voters. I believe that there is scant necessity for using it in connection with short-term elective officers.

Do you believe in the recall of judges?

I believe that the evils which have led to the very widespread proposal to apply the recall to judges are very real. I see no reason why the people, if they are competent to elect judges, are not also competent to un-elect them. I think the judiciary should be made clearly to understand that they represent justice for the whole people. Personally, and having in view the success of the Massachusetts system, I am at present inclined to believe that judges should be appointive. Then we can apply the principle of the recall to the appointive power. In addition, I would have the appointive judges removable; and, in feeling our way to the proper solution, I would try having this done by a majority vote of the two houses of the Legislature, as may now be done under the Massachusetts law, whenever the people through their representatives feel that the needs of the people require such removal. But this is merely my preference; and, moreover, my prime concern is with the end, not the means. I wish to see good judges put on the bench and bad ones taken off it. Any system which in its actual workings accomplishes these two ends is a good system. I do not wish to use the recall if it is possible to avoid doing so; but I would far rather have recourse to the recall than continue the present system, which provides an impeachment remedy that in practice never works, and provides no efficient way whatever for overruling judicial misconstruction of the Constitution.

Do you believe in the "review of judicial decisions" by State courts, and what do you mean by it?

I do. What I mean may be fully expressed by the phrase, "The right of the people to review certain judicial decisions which nullify laws demanded by the people in the exercise of the police or general welfare power on the ground that these laws are unconstitutional." This would amount to a simpler method of construing or amending the judicial interpretation of the Constitution wherever such interpretation becomes clearly adverse to human rights. I believe, as I have said over and over again, that when the highest court of a State differs from the Legislature of that State on the question of the constitutionality of a law vitally affecting the conditions of life and labor among wage-earners, the people should have the right to determine in an election whether the Constitution which they have framed was meant by them to permit such a law. This method cannot apply to questions as to the Federal Constitution; I have made this distinction clear in my Columbus speech. The jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court concerning the Federal Constitution must remain supreme over the whole people. The Constitutions of the separate States are in daily process of making by the people of those States, and I would therefore vest in the people of each State the final authority as to what their State Constitution should be. I would *not* make the people the final judge in legal questions between individuals, but I *would* make the people the final umpire in such a conflict as that above outlined between the Legislature and the judiciary in any given State.

The personal differences between some of my opponents and myself are only incidents of a fundamental difference of view. My opponents believe, as many of the founders of our Government believed, that the people as a whole have neither the capacity nor the training to decide questions of broad governmental policy. Many of our fathers thought that the people could not be trusted to elect Presidents or Senators and therefore devised the Electoral College, which we have abandoned, and the legislative method of electing Senators, which we are abandoning. My opponents think that a special class, the legal class, is the proper one finally to determine questions of basic political philosophy; I believe that the ultimate authority rests in the people and must be exercised by the people.

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This of course does not mean that the people should not employ experts to do their work for them. For instance, having selected the President, the voters should give him full executive power; but if the voters decide that they want a parcels post, they should expect him to make, with loyalty to their decision, the best parcels post that can be made; and they will not expect him to decide for them as to whether they are to have a parcels post or not. In law, having framed the Constitution and the statutes, they should choose the best judge that they can to carry out the provisions of the Constitution and the statutes; but if they decide that they want a Workmen's Compensation Act, they ought to expect the judge to administer such an Act, and not to determine whether a Workmen's Compensation Act is good for them or not. It is none of the judge's business to say whether the people ought to wish and to have such an Act; it is the people's business, and only theirs. If the people decide (as the Canadians have decided) that it is a true function of government to formulate and regulate the relations of organized capital and organized labor, including wages, hours, and conditions of work, they will not expect the judges—and the judges must not expect—to decide that this is not a true function of government; and if the judges endeavor to assert their view as opposed to the people's view, the people ought in legal fashion to tell them they are mistaken, and, if the judges persist, remove them and get judges who will administer the law based upon the theory of government which the people in the exercise of their sober and deliberate judgment have decided to be good.

PATRONAGE IN POLITICS

A POLL OF THE PRESS

THE question of patronage in politics is again before the country. It has always been a thorn in the side, and always will be—so long as the spoils system exists.

True, it does not bother us as it once did. Very many Government officials, to become such, must now pass a competitive examination as an admittance to certain classes of Governmental work. This system is called the classified service. Yet the man who enters it by proved merit still often finds his office controlled by a purely political agent, and, as the New York "Good Government" (Ind.) says, "all the higher administrative posts to which he might aspire given as a reward for political service, and as the result of a 'divvy' of spoils between Senators and Representatives." It adds:

> In the interest of the civil service itself, no less than a safeguard of our elections by the people, the host of high administrative officials in our Government must be disbanded as a political army, and put under civil service rules.

With regard to that large class of Governmental employees, the postmasters, the merit system has made great progress. It now controls all the clerical force at Washington, the entire railway mail service, nearly all the clerical appointees in the post-offices throughout the country, the fourth-class postmasters, and eight thousand assistant postmasters. There still remain out of the merit system, and open to the schemes of politicians, the postmasters of the first, second, and third classes.. Commenting on this fact, the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.) says:

> It is interesting to observe that there is a very definite and strong sentiment among the postmasters themselves in favor of extending the system to include all the postmasters of whatever grade. . . . The time is surely coming, and ought not to be long delayed, when all postmasterships . . . shall be filled by trained men, distributed according to the needs of the business, and with absolutely no reference to political interests.

Within the past month the question of political activity among Governmental officials has risen in an acute form. It concerns, first of all, President Taft. He has been a lifelong adherent of civil service reform. Years ago he was President of the Cincinnati Civil Service Reform Association. As President he has put in the classified service the assistant postmasters in all the money-order offices. Moreover, in his Message to Congress of December 21, 1911, President Taft renewed his recommendation that all the local offices throughout the country, including collectors of internal revenue, collectors of

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customs, postmasters of all four classes, immigration commissioners, and marshals, should be by law put into the classified service. In this case the necessity for confirmation by the Senate would be removed, and, as Mr. Taft says, "the President and the others whose time is now taken up in distributing this patronage under the custom that has prevailed since the beginning of the Government, in accordance with the recommendation of the Senators and Congressmen of the majority party, should be relieved from this burden." He adds:

It would take away the power to use the patronage of the Government for political purposes. When officers are recommended by Senators and Congressmen from political motives and for political services rendered, it is impossible to expect that while in office the appointees will not regard their tenure as more or less dependent upon continued political service for their patrons.

The President's recommendations are certainly justified by the course of events. While political activity of Governmental employees is being checked by the increased facilities for detecting violations, by a fuller co-operation of the executive departments, and by a greater public sympathy, the extension of the restriction on political activity should, in the opinion of many trusted organs of public opinion, include officers now unclassified. For instance, the New York "Tribune" (Rep.), commenting on this situation, says:

When the post-office is taken completely out of politics there will be few fields in the Federal service left to conquer. It is a striking evidence of the hold which the merit system has taken on popular regard that the suggestion made by the Civil Service Commission that all the post-offices be classified meets with no open criticism from the politicians, as "revolutionary" and "undemocratic." Yet ten years ago no one would have thought it practicable to drive the spoils system out of its last great stronghold. . . . It [the merit system] will become universal in the United States as soon as the voters everywhere begin to apply themselves energetically to the problem of dissociating business from politics in State and municipal administration.

Persons who, by the provisions of the Civil Service rules, are in the competitive classified stage, while retaining the right to vote as they please and privately to express their opinions on all political subjects, are forbidden to take an active part in political management, or in political campaigns. In a number of States, however, the situation is peculiar.

In Texas, according to a special despatch in the New York "Tribune" (a strong supporter of the Administration), a circular has just been issued by Colonel Lyon, the Roosevelt campaign manager and National Committeeman from that State, in which he announces that "of the five thousand office-holders in the State he is responsible for the appointment of all except five, and that therefore he demands an unequivocal statement of the purposes of every office-holder, so that he may know just what action to take in the future." If this be true, it is balanced by the statement of Mr. MacGregor, the Taft campaign manager, who says that appointments to postmasterships "have not been considered." When asked whether he would consider them, he replied, according to the Galveston "News" (Ind.): "Of course there will be a little politics in it, but I am not holding it over their heads to coerce them into supporting President Taft." To this the "News" adds this comment:

It is rather rasping to the sensibilities of even the sophisticated to witness an outright peddling of them [the offices] for convention votes. This candor is of the cynical kind, the kind which implies a contempt for the feelings of those who reprobate this prostitution of political power. What has become of those fervent professions of civil service reform which the President has given us on every occasion? Is it counted among those convenient virtues which are to be practiced only when self-interest is not sacrificed by so doing?

In Kentucky a systematic attempt has been made, declares the Louisville "Post" (Ind.), to levy a tax upon Federal office-holders. "They are summoned to appear at the captain's office, and before they leave they are told that they must put up twenty-five dollars." The "Post" continues:

The law prohibits these assessments under certain conditions and these conditions are being evaded. The practice nevertheless is reprehensible and a violation of the spirit of the law. It is in fact a menace to the people's control of governmental affairs. . . . The difficulties are immense because those in power do not desire to be reorganized; they want to be let alone. The office-holders, from revenue derived from these assessments, finance an organization of great power, and the people find themselves face to face with a force difficult to overcome.

The situation is such as to call upon all of the friends of good government, and all of those Republicans who have engaged in the work of redeeming the party organization from these evil influences and of restoring self-government to this community, to unite.

In Kansas the situation has been such as to call forth an indignant telegram from Gov-

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ernor Stubbs to President Taft. The Kansas papers are divided in their opinion as to the wisdom or justice of this telegram. For instance, the Abilene "Reflector" (Rep.) declares:

Governor Stubbs telegraphed in great indignation to Taft that Federal office-holders were neglecting their duties by running over to Topeka to a committee meeting. The President, recalling that Stubbs has been for six weeks chasing over the country working politics, shook his portly sides, and his comment was: "Ha! ha! ha!"

In Oklahoma patronage has also been used to defeat the people's will, if we may believe in the following letter from Mr. J. A. Harris, Chairman of the State Republican Committee, addressed to the postmaster at Hastings:

I am in receipt of the following letter from the Department:

"The commission of N. S. Figley, postmaster of Hastings, Oklahoma, will expire February 28, 1912. When last inspected this office did not appear in a satisfactory condition, and, unless the postmaster can be relied upon to raise the service to a higher standard of efficiency, it is believed that he should not be reappointed. The Department will be pleased to receive as promptly as possible an expression of your views as to what action in this case will be for the best interest of the service."

I hope that you have your office in first-class condition and will continue to have it so. If you will bring a delegation to the State and district conventions instructed for Taft and Harris, I will see that you are reappointed.

"What did Harris properly have to do with the management of the Hastings post-office?" exclaims the New York "World" (Dem.). Why should the Post-Office Department at Washington refer a matter of official efficiency to him? The "World" says further:

If Harris were not expressly given power from Washington to make Figley's tenure of office dependent on his political work for Taft, he was impliedly given the power. He had the right to conclude as he did.

It may be that the President knew nothing about the matter. But he knows now. He is responsible to the country for "the Department's" acts. The use of patronage by the Administration as at Hastings to further his renomination cannot be passed over in silence. It cannot be ignored or excused.

In North Carolina, ten nominations of postmasters which had been made were withdrawn by the President for the purpose, so it is said, of influencing the action of certain politicians in the State in regard to holding conventions and electing delegates to the National Convention. This now notorious withdrawal of the North Carolina appointments, remarks "Harper's Weekly" (Ind.), of itself, however wicked, would be a departure from the usual procedure, which has been not to hold up appointments as a bid to two party factions; instead, "to recognize one faction only, turn over all the patronage to it, and thus make it easily supreme in the matter of choosing delegates and in all others." "Harper's Weekly" explains the situation in greater detail:

But the real cause and the real object of the President's action was no such thing. From the beginning of his Administration the war between these two factions has bothered him grievously. The old Pritchard-Duncan, or "referee" machine, backed by office-broker Hitchcock, has been trying to maintain itself, by office-holders' support, against the larger faction, fully indorsed by the State Convention in 1910, and the President, anything but fond of such politics, has too often trusted his subordinate, Hitchcock, bent on keeping his hold on the Southern States by keeping in power the men and the machine which helped to form the "steam-roller" of 1908. The President's incapacity for such manipulations, and his distaste for it, notorious among politicians, is pitiable or admirable according to the point of view.

Some time ago Senator Bristow, of Kansas, told his fellow-Senators that post-office inspectors had been dragooning Federal office-holders in the South to support President Taft, and seeking to coerce all those who had adhered to the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt. Mr. Bristow furnished data from the postmaster at Bessemer, Alabama.

All these facts have been sufficient to call the attention of Congress to the general situation, and a resolution introduced by Mr. Bristow, which has now been favorably reported, directs the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads to ascertain the facts more definitely. All the money necessary to conduct a sweeping investigation has now been allowed by the Senate Committee on Con tingent Expenses.

An explanation of the President's action has been put forth by Mr. George G. Hill, the Washington correspondent of the New York "Tribune" (Rep.). "If there is any ground for criticism of the Administration in connection with the army of office-holders," says Mr. Hill, "it is that the President, fearing that disciplinary measures adopted at this time, for good and sufficient reasons, would be construed as an attempt to coerce minor officials, is strongly disposed to overlook, at least for the present, faults which at any other time would be met with censure or even dismissal."

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SENATOR BRISTOW'S VIEWS ON PRESENT POLITICAL CONDITIONS

AN AUTHORIZED INTERVIEW BY OSCAR KING DAVIS

EVER since the Republican party was born, the great prairie States of the Middle West have been its stronghold. But it is in these States that there has now arisen the greatest dissatisfaction among Republicans over the course and policies of President Taft and the men who, with him, control the National organization of the party.

Since the enactment of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Law, which evoked the first open evidences of acute dissatisfaction among Republicans, President Taft and his close friends have made constant effort to allay the unrest in the party and repair the breaks in the ranks that made possible the Democratic successes of 1910. The President himself, after a busy summer in Washington with a special session of Congress—called to act on his reciprocity agreement with Canada—devoted about two months last fall to making a great swing through the West, the second in two years. On that journey, as on the one that followed the tariff session of 1909, he traveled through the heart of the dissatisfied country. The first journey did not serve to check the popular discontent with the Republican party, as the elections of 1910 showed. Opinion is divided as to the effect on political sentiment of the second journey.

Party friends of the President are now working most industriously to secure the election of Taft delegates to the Republican National Convention, which is to meet in Chicago next June. At the same time the Progressive—or Insurgent—Republicans are just as busy in the effort to elect delegates who will vote for the nomination of some Progressive—Colonel Roosevelt, or Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, or Senator Cummins, of Iowa.

In all this the great Middle West is mightily interested, and even the conservative East is getting stirred up. Among the most active of the Middle West Progressive Republicans is Senator Joseph L. Bristow, of Kansas. He was one of the men who stood wholeheartedly for the "Roosevelt policies" in the Presidential campaign of 1908. He accepted the Republican National platform of that year as meaning exactly what it said, and he joined the six other Republican Insurgents in the Senate in voting against the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill on the ground that it did not fulfill the pledge of the platform for a revision along the lines of the differential between the domestic and foreign costs of production. He is a politician of unusual sagacity, and he has been keeping in close touch with the rapidly developing situation, especially in his own section. In a recent interview with a representative of The Outlook Senator Bristow discussed present political conditions and prospects with characteristic frankness. He was asked first about the situation in the Middle West so far as the Republican party is concerned.

"There are just as many Republicans in the Middle West as there ever were," he replied, "but the question as to the condition of the Republican party is a difficult one to answer. If the party in the coming campaign stands unequivocally for the Progressive policies and has a candidate for the Presidency and candidates for Congress in the various districts who are Progressives—genuinely so—the Middle West will be Republican.

"Kansas elected a solid Republican delegation in 1910. Some of the Progressive members of the delegation were elected by increased majorities over those given in 1908. The only Republican candidate whose election was at all in danger was Mr. P. P. Campbell, who is a stand-patter, and his majority was reduced from 5,830 in 1908 to about 700 in 1910. Mr. Mitchell, of the Second District in our State, a district adjoining that of Mr. Campbell, being a Progressive, increased the majority given his predecessor, Mr. Scott, from 2,207 in 1908 to 3,430 in 1910. Unfortunately Mr. Mitchell died, and, because of local quarrels growing out of the nomination, his successor is a Democrat. But this year, if a genuine Progressive is nominated by the Republicans and he makes a clean-cut Progressive campaign, he will be elected.

"In my opinion, what is true as to Kansas is true as to every Republican State west of the Alleghany Mountains. They are strongly Republican if the Republican party is standing for Progressive ideas. But if it is not, it

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will be just as it was in 1910 where the party was not Progressive. Two years ago the Republican party lost in the States where it was not Progressive. It did not lose where it was Progressive."

"Suppose the reactionary element controls the National Republican Convention and the nomination of the National candidate, what will be the effect in the Progressive States?"

"If the reactionary element controls the Convention, names the candidate, and writes the platform, the party will be beaten in the election."

"Will the Progressives bolt?"

"I do not think the leaders will, but the masses of the American people are not reactionary, and will not support any party that is. Mr. Roosevelt defeated Mr. Parker by a tremendous majority because Mr. Parker was reactionary and Mr. Roosevelt was Progressive. Mr. Taft defeated Mr. Bryan because the people believed that Mr. Taft was standing for the Republican Progressive ideas. If they had not believed that, he would not have been elected.

"It is hard for any one in Washington, or New York, or Philadelphia, or any of these Eastern cities, surrounded by men of wealth and naturally conservative minds, to judge of the intense feeling that exists among the people, regardless of their political affiliations, against the domination of our political affairs by the financial interests of the country—a domination that is directed wholly from a selfish standpoint, and that seeks to have laws enacted and decisions of courts rendered that will bring dividends, irrespective of the justice or equity of business conduct. It is the feeling against this domination of politics in the interests of the dividends of the great corporations that is stirring the people to hostility. The people of the West know that the trust question was not settled by the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust decisions. They know that the Tobacco Trust and the Standard Oil Company are just as potent now as they ever were. Their component members are controlled by the same minds; the dividends accumulate and go into the pockets of the same individuals; the companies dominated by the Standard Oil will be dominated by the same influence in a different way. The men who profited by the Tobacco Trust will profit in the future under these decisions as they have in the past.

"The people think that a lot of these big grafters who have been violating the law ought to be sent to jail, and there is no indication that there is any real prospect of sending those fellows to jail. As the operations of these men become known, as the people realize how they have accumulated their millions, they become indignant. The levying of fines on these corporations—fines which in turn are assessed upon the people—is a source of irritation to the average man. The bringing of suit, the securing of judgment, the assessing of fines, or the order for dissolution of a corporation that goes ahead and proceeds on the same lines, as the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust are practically doing now, does not impress the people with the fact that anything substantial is being done. They feel as though it was a lot of froth and the substantial remedies were not being applied. It does not change conditions materially."

"Suppose the Democratic Convention is controlled by the non-progressive or reactionary element and nominates a man who is not a Progressive upon a platform that is not Progressive—"

"That is, if both the great parties are reactionary? I do not think that is at all probable. That has not happened in recent years. If one party nominates a Progressive candidate, the other party probably will nominate a reactionary, because it will seek to secure the support of the dissatisfied element of the first party. That is what history demonstrates is usually done. So I do not expect the interests to be able to control both of the conventions. If they control one, the other will get away from them. If they lose one, they probably will get control of the other."

"You think it makes no particular difference to the interests what the name of the party is so long as they control it?"

"Not if they get what they want, and they are usually represented by men who know what they want.

"The people of the West are not hostile to property rights. They believe that a man who has honestly invested a dollar in a public utility like a railway or street car line ought to have a fair return on that investment, and they are willing to pay any reasonable charge that is necessary in order to make that dollar pay a decent and fair return. But they will not consent to and will not tolerate a system of business that enables men to collect a return from the public upon millions of securities that do not represent a dollar of investment."

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"In other words, they are willing to pay dividends on all the gold dollars, but not upon the water dollars?"

"That is it exactly. So long as the promoters and managers of the corporations insist upon taxing the people in the form of rates and charges to pay interest or dividends upon millions of watered stocks that represent not a dollar of actual money invested in their properties, so long will there be an intense and bitter hostility to these corporations, and a determination that they shall not control the politics of the Nation in order to perpetuate this system, by which they have accumulated millions without the investment of any money. It is simply a question of a square deal."

"I suppose the tariff will be the chief issue in the coming campaign?"

"It may, and it may not be. It will, however, be an issue. If a Progressive Republican is the nominee of the Convention, and the platform on the tariff is in harmony with the tariff policy which the Progressive Republicans have stood for—that is, an honest protective policy that measures the difference in the cost of production in the United States and her competing countries—it will be indorsed by the people. We are for a policy that protects American wages, and that sees that the protection given actually goes to those for whom it is intended."

"You are an advocate of the general policy described as 'popular government'?"

"I am."

"That brings up the subject of recall of judicial decisions advocated by Colonel Roosevelt in his speech to the Ohio Legislature. What do you think of that?"

"If I properly understand what Colonel Roosevelt advocates, I am with him. His proposition, as I interpret it, is that if the Legislature of a State passes a law, which is approved by the Governor and becomes a statute of the State, and the Supreme Court of that State, passing upon that law, declares it to be unconstitutional and therefore void, upon petitions at the next general election the question shall be submitted to the people for them to determine whether the law as passed by the Legislature and approved by the Governor shall stand, or whether the Constitution of the State as interpreted by the Supreme Court shall continue to stand, and the law thereby fail. In other words, the people shall determine whether the law so enacted shall stand and the Constitution be so modified as not to be repugnant to it. Since the people themselves make their Constitution, this simply gives them an opportunity to modify that Constitution in this respect, if, in their judgment, it ought so to be modified. I believe the people ought to have that opportunity. Both sides of the question would be presented clearly to them; the one in the action of the Legislature and the argument of the legal department of the State Government in its behalf before the Court, and the other in the decision of the Court finding against it. By this means the highest authority within a Republic ultimately decides what its laws shall be. If the people are capable of self-government, if they are capable of wisely adopting a Constitution, then they are capable, in my judgment, of wisely modifying its provisions. To deny them this right is not in harmony with the principles underlying free government.

"I go further than Colonel Roosevelt in regard to the recall of judges. I think the same rule ought to be applied to the recall of judicial officers that is applied to legislative and executive officers. Our judicial officers are not superior either in intelligence, learning, or character to our legislative and executive officers, and the same test should be applied to them that is applied to all others. I think the best judicial systems that we have in our country are those where the judges are elected by the people for short terms. It does not rob these judges of their independence, but does make them more considerate of the actual economic and industrial conditions that exist. This, in my opinion, is vital to the welfare of our country."

"Do you think, Senator, that there would have to be frequent resort to such a remedy?"

"I do not think that the recall will be used to any considerable extent. It would be only the most flagrant cases in which it would be resorted to. Experience demonstrates that in the States which have it. It is simply a safeguard which the people prescribe against recreant or unfaithful officers."

"Does not the way in which the new Commerce Court has overturned orders of the Inter-State Commerce Commission tend to foster the feeling of dissatisfaction with the courts thoughout the country?"

"It simply adds to that general dissatisfaction which has been growing up for some years with the Federal judiciary. The Commerce Court, in my opinion, was created for the purpose of interfering with the effectiveness

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of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. The Inter-State Commerce Commission has been of inestimable service to the American people. Congress has, year by year, greatly enlarged its powers, until it is becoming an efficient agency in the protection of the people from the selfishness and greed of the great railway companies. Realizing the danger which this Commission might become to their domination of our transportation affairs, the railway interests sought to have this Court established, because experience has taught them that the courts are their best friends. And the experience of the people since this Court was created has demonstrated that they well knew what they wanted. The Commerce Court is an impediment to the effectiveness of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. It never should have been created, and it ought to be immediately abolished.

"Has the defeat of reciprocity by Canada taken that issue out of the situation?"

"In my judgment, the defeat of reciprocity by Canada deprived Mr. Taft of any strength which the issue might have given him, but did not relieve him from the loss which that issue caused him. The farmers of the West, and the town people whose interests are tied up in a business way with the farmers, were very hostile to reciprocity. They believed that it was putting the farmer on the free-trade basis and retaining the manufacturer upon the protective basis; that it was an unjust and indefensible discrimination against the farmers; and they deeply resented Mr. Taft's activity in pushing the issue as he did.

"In the wheat belt they were confirmed in their convictions because within a week after reciprocity was defeated the price of wheat advanced over ten cents a bushel. The farmers who sold their wheat during the reciprocity campaign are resentful because they feel that it was Mr. Taft and his reciprocity issue that resulted in their selling on a low market. Those who had not sold are thankful to the Conservatives of Canada who saved them from their own President."

"Are they firm in their original hostilities?"

"I think they still remember it with deep resentment."

"How about the peace treaties?"

"I was interested in Mr. Taft's speeches on the arbitration treaties, to some of which I listened. He did not awaken any special public interest in the treaties. The people largely are in favor of arbitration; but they failed to get interested in the controversy as to the details of the treaties. Both sides declared for arbitration. The people read both sides of the discussion. Some think one way, and some the other. The country has not been disturbed by the issue."

"How about the President's trip last fall?"

"The people extended to him a courteous reception everywhere, which showed that they appreciate the dignity and greatness of his office. Men who had been opposed to the President before, and who are still opposed to him, extended him a cordial welcome. But the President said nothing to the people in the Middle West that in any way appealed to the popular imagination. He said nothing that materially injured him, but, in my judgment, there was a feeling of disappointment on the part of those who were friendly to him—who had a personal regard for him—and on the part of the friends who want him to be renominated and re-elected, because he did not on that trip say something which they could use to build up sentiment in his favor. Unfortunately for the President, he has not since his election made any declarations on any question that have strengthened him with the people of the West.

"The Democratic party won in the last election, not because of anything it had done or anything it was planning to do, but because the people were dissatisfied with what the Republican party failed to do, chiefly in the revision of the tariff."

"You said you did not think the Progressive leaders would bolt if the National Convention is reactionary. Do the Progressives mean to stay in the Republican party if they cannot win now, and keep up the fight in the hope of winning later?"

"Yes. I believe that a great majority of the American people indorse the position which the Progressive Republicans have taken on public questions—on the tariff, on the amendment of the Inter-State Commerce Law, and on other legislative matters that have been before Congress. We propose to continue the fight along the same line in every session of Congress until we succeed. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law must be amended so that it will be effective in preventing monopoly or in controlling monopoly—one of the two. The tariff must be revised in harmony with the declaration of the Republican National platform of 1908. The control of politics by the financial interests for selfishness and for

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[redacted]nust be broken. What we need is a Pro-[redacted]sive Congress, a Progressive executive [redacted]inistration, and Progressive courts. And [redacted] the Republican party honestly, sincerely, and effectively stands for these things, it will be intrusted with the administration of public affairs by the American people. If it does not, it will not be."

PUBLIC OR PRIVATE INTERESTS?

BY GIFFORD PINCHOT

GOVERNOR DE WITT CLINTON first called attention to the public value of the Adirondack forest nearly a century ago. Since then the preservation of the North Woods has become a subject of genuine concern to the people of New York. It is doubtful whether any other like area of forest in the world is of so great importance to so many people. The State of New York has spent millions of dollars to acquire and hold the State lands in the Adirondack Park, which now amount to a million and a half of acres. Repeated efforts to protect the North Woods against timber thieves, water-power grabbers, corrupt State officials, and other enemies have time after time aroused the interest of practically the whole State. To-day the protection of these mountain forests is an article of faith with every good citizen of New York, and with sound reason.

The destruction of the Adirondack forests has gone on more rapidly during the last ten years than during any other decade in their history. Public indifference to that fact is little short of amazing. Most of the efforts made to conserve the Adirondacks have played about matters of secondary importance while the destruction itself went on unchecked.

It would be difficult to find a man, woman, or child in New York whom this destruction does not affect. The lumbermen of New York are of course deeply interested in the North Woods. It is the control of these timber lands which has made them prosperous. They are closely allied with the manufacturers of paper, who depend on the wood which the forests supply and the streams which they sustain for the raw material of their trade and the power which transforms it to the finished product. Without the forests, the paper mills are doubly useless.

The interests of the water-power men in the North Woods are as great as they are direct. Already about eight hundred thousand horse-power has been developed in the State of New York, while a million more waits to be harnessed for the benefit of our people. I may add incidentally that certain politicians are just now doing their best to see that the people get as little out of its vast natural resources, and the special interests as much, as they can possibly manage. Fishermen and hunters find in the North Woods the goal of their desires, and are deeply concerned in their preservation. Thousands of health-seekers, sufferers from the great white plague and others, owe or hope to owe their return to bodily soundness and civic efficiency to the North Woods. Here is one of their greatest uses to the State, a use which is bound up with the life of the forest.

Every mill-owner on every stream which flows out of the Adirondacks, the shipping interests on every navigable river which heads in these mountains, every man who reads a newspaper printed on paper made of spruce pulp, every business interest occupied in supplying the needs of the workers or distributing the product of industries which depend on the North Woods, indeed every citizen of the State, is dependent for a part of his well-being on the safety of these wonderful forests.

What is happening to this precious possession of the whole people?

The Adirondack Park is bounded by the so-called "blue line." It contains, roughly, about three million acres, half of which is State land, half the property of private owners. The forests on the State land cannot be properly protected or wisely used because of a provision in the State Constitution which forbids the cutting of any tree, and which is so rigid and direct that fire slash and dead timber cannot be removed nor defective trees cut out, roads cannot be built nor good trails constructed, swamp lands cannot be flooded to store water for power, camp sites

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cannot be leased for the use of the many thousands for whom it should be made easy to enjoy the benefits the North Woods can give. Indeed, under this provision of the Constitution, well-to-do sportsmen and the rich owners of camp sites on private land have a substantial monopoly in the actual use of lands and waters which belong to all the people.

The State of New York is doing what it can to prevent fires on both State and private land, and doing it well, but destruction by fire will never be held in check until bad methods of logging stop making fire-traps on privately owned lands in the Adirondacks. An uncut or a well-cut forest in the North Woods is very hard to burn; a forest badly lumbered is a fire-trap. Unless the present practice on some of these private lands is discontinued, the whole area of the North Woods, including the State lands, will sooner or later be threatened with destruction. Much of the State land had been cut over before it was purchased, and so is covered with dead and down logs and brush—an invitation to fires. It is essential to control fire on private lands if the property of the people of New York is to be saved. Fire is no respecter of property lines.

The fires of the last ten years have been more destructive and extensive than ever before, while the number of small trees cut on some of the privately owned tracts has steadily increased as the timber became more valuable. In a word, both fire and bad logging have increased in the last few years, while the people of the State, uninformed for the most part of what was going on, have put forth again and again the most vigorous efforts in what they supposed were effective attempts to preserve the Adirondacks.

The case of the Brooklyn Cooperage Company, a subsidiary of the Sugar Trust, furnishes an example in point. While the Sugar Trust itself was busy defrauding the people by false weights at the southern end of the State, at the north the Cooperage Company was doing injury by the needless vandalism of its methods of logging. In addition to the destruction of the forests by reckless methods of logging, figures compiled in the office of the New York Conservation Commission show that already more than twenty-eight thousand acres of the land owned or controlled by this company has been burned over. Yet the company has refused to take simple precautions suggested by the Conservation Commission.

The Adirondack question, however, is not limited to fire alone. It is well established by the practice of all civilized countries that the maintenance of mountain forests at the head-waters of important streams is a public duty, whether these forests are in public or private hands. Even Switzerland, the most democratic of all nations, controls by law the handling of private timber lands above a certain elevation in the Alps, and practically all of the civilized nations of Europe recognize that the ownership of mountain forests carries with it a responsibility to the public. With us destructive logging on the same type of land, privately owned, goes on unchecked. In the end, the people of the State will have to bear the burden and make good the loss which some of the lumbermen are now inflicting upon them.

What has the State, for its part, done for the lumbermen?

State taxes on New York forest lands are negligible in amount. Over and over again, the power and resources of the State have been put at the service of the lumbermen to secure water storage on State lands for the floating of their logs to market. Fire protection, which elsewhere is paid for in part or in whole by the private timber land owners, is in New York carried on wholly at the public expense. So far is this true that when a lumberman fights fire with his own men, on his own land, under the direction of a State officer, the whole cost, including wages, is repaid him.

In return for all this some of the lumbermen are protecting and preserving their forest lands with more or less efficiency, while others are devastating their lands without restraint. Most unfortunately, the better lumbermen have joined the worse in fighting a measure for the protection of the Adirondacks recommended by the Camp-Fire Club of America and the National Conservation Association, drawn by the New York Conservation Commission, and put before the Legislature as the Roosevelt-Jones Bill. This bill proposes to do two things. First, it gives the Conservation Commission power to do more efficiently the things it is doing now—that is, its passage will bring about an improvement in fire protection, tree-planting, and other divisions of the work. Second, it prohibits the cutting of trees on private lands smaller than eight inches in soft woods and twelve inches in hard woods.

The principle at stake in this limitation of

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cutting is in no sense a new one. It proposes to do nothing that is not done commonly in connection with other restrictions of private action for the public good. It is the application of an old and thoroughly established principle to the forest, and in that sense only it is new.

The principle is this : The State, under its police power, has the right to regulate the use of private property in such a way as to prevent that use from resulting in damage to the people.

Private forest lands within the Adirondack preserve have been for many years, and are now being, so handled as to inflict serious injury on the people of the State. The destruction of forests is proceeding to-day unchecked on many private holdings. It does the State as much harm when privately owned forests are destroyed on an important watershed as when publicly owned forests are destroyed. Either the State has wasted the money it has spent on the Adirondack forest preserve, or the destruction of private lands within its boundaries is an injury to the public interests.

The lumbermen admit the right of the State to prevent forest destruction, but claim they should be compensated for any loss which may be involved in restricting their operations. To yield to this demand would be at once to beg the whole question. No man has a right so to use his private property as to injure the public. To admit that he must be paid when prevented from doing so would be to admit the helplessness of the State to protect the interests of its own citizens, would doubtless result in excessive damages for imaginary injuries, and would needlessly increase the burdens of the taxpayers.

There is here no question of confiscation. The uncut timber remains on the land to form the nucleus of a second crop. Figures supplied by the United States Forest Service show that the value of spruce stumpage increased at the rate of more than twenty-five per cent a year for the seven years from 1900 to 1907. As an Adirondack lumberman well said, " A forest badly cut represents a diminishing asset; a forest conservatively cut, an increasing asset."

It is time for the people of the State to stop playing with this problem. If the Adirondacks are to be saved, there is only one way to save them. To condemn all forest land in the Adirondacks would be prohibitive in expense, and, besides, it is wholly unnecessary. The people of New York clearly have the power to protect their own welfare by regulating logging on private lands. No good reason can be assigned why that power should not be exercised for the general good, especially when the lumbermen admit that some of them have already adopted in their own personal interest precautions much more strict than the State proposes to require.

We have here a clear-cut issue between certain special interests, controlling large areas of forest in the Adirondacks and asserting the right to destroy it at their pleasure, and the public interests, which require its protection and preservation.

IN THE MANTLE OF GOD

BY HAROLD T. PULSIFER

I pray to a God with a woman's face.
(My mother's face is wondrous fair!)
The wide world is an altar-place,
And love-in-life the only prayer.

I work for a God with a woman's hands.
(My mother's hands are cool and strong!)
I sing for a God who understands
The worker's work and the singer's song.

I live for a God with a woman's eyes.
(My mother's eyes have made me whole!)
The flaming walls of paradise
Are compassed with a single soul!

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THE HOME AND THE MARKET

BY MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

IN THE SERIES ON HOME-MAKING THE WOMAN'S PROFESSION

MRS. FRANK WATROUS is the conservative wife of a high-salaried man living in New Jersey. She is the mother of four, and I never noticed any rebellious leanings in her till the other day, when she cried:

"These high prices make me *so* angry! I can't afford to have anything but the very best for my family—it doesn't pay. Besides, I've a *right* to the best!"

And when I inquired why she thought she had a *right* to anything she couldn't pay for, she continued:

"I'm not pretending to be able to pay for the best in money, but I'm paying society in four able-bodied, able-brained children, each trained to a useful profession; by keeping Frank in health and temper to do his work; and by what I'm doing on the school committee. I'm furnishing society with the best product in the way of citizens. Don't I need the best raw material to make it with? Can I make a silk purse out of a sow's ear?"

Ever since the Children of Israel tried to make bricks without straw the generations of man have been struggling with that problem—especially in the home, where we have been handicapped by the belief that an alchemy in the atmosphere will transform second-rate material into first-rate product; transmute base metal into gold. It is certainly to the advantage of society that the home should turn out the very best product; why, then, do we continue to buy poor raw materials when we have, as Mrs. Watrous insists, a right to the best?

I have asked this question of some scores of men and women living widely apart on the map, and their reasons, differently stated, shake down into three:

"There isn't enough of the best to go round."

"We don't know the best when we see it."

"The best costs so much that we can't afford it."

All of them good, truthful reasons for putting up with substitutes.

Now of course there have been many thousand generations—all through the time which Professor Simon Patten calls the Civilization of a Deficit—when some of us starved because nowhere within reach was there food enough, when some of us froze because there were neither houses nor clothes enough, when we stood for lack of chairs, walked for lack of wagons, and died for lack of medicines; when there was not enough of anything—let alone the best—to go round. But we have reached the Civilization of a Surplus now, and it's only a step farther to where there will not only be enough, but enough of the best, for us all. Already storekeepers, manufacturers, builders, tell us we can have what we demand, but that we don't get the best because we don't demand it.

Now, not for a moment do I want to confuse the best with the most expensive—they do not *have* to be the same, though often they are.

"This," said a manufacturer of colored calendars, Christmas cards, and valentines, as he held up a scalloped square showing a green and brown castle against a cerise sky and covered with diamond dust to represent snow—"this is what sells. I don't make such things for my own pleasure. I make them because people want them. I'm ready to make anything they demand—it costs no more."

But cards might perhaps be relegated to the realm of taste, so let's get down to food. I spent a summer in a small village where the vegetable supply ran the appetizing cycle of beets, turnips, carrots, parsnips, onions, and then "repeat" indefinitely. A neighboring hotel absorbed all the lettuce and peas and sweet corn that were raised.

"Can't you grow enough salad for the rest of us?" I desperately asked a peddling farmer.

"I dunno. Mebbe I might put in more green things if anybody 'd buy 'em. They's room enough; mebbe I might. I dunno but what I will."

I was looking through some new apartment buildings overlooking the park—large, gaudy, expensive.

"Why do you put in such shallow fireplaces?" I asked the agent. "They won't draw. And those ice-boxes will melt the ice almost as fast as one puts it in; and the bathroom door opens the wrong way, and—"

"Well, you see," he interrupted hastily, "nobody who comes to rent them knows how they ought to be."

Now, if the home-maker who ought to

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have the best for his home doesn't know what the best is, what is going to be done? The natural answer is that he had better find out. "Let every man be his own expert!"

But how would that be wiser than having every man be his own shoemaker?

"By getting acquainted with the butcher we buy very desirable cuts of meat for from five to ten cents a pound. Any one can do the same who knows the ropes," writes a man from Massachusetts, under the evident delusion that he has solved the problem of intelligent marketing. This is—let me say it as delicately as I can—a sort of gentle graft on the community. Somebody undoubtedly pays the extra price which he is spared. It is like a political "pull," and does not help the rest of us at all.

Suppose, as he suggests, that we all knew the ropes, would we all buy butcher's meat at five to ten cents? Suppose our tradesmen are stand-offish and won't get acquainted? Let us be ill fed! Suppose we ourselves are crabbed and unsocial? Let us be ill fed! Suppose we are not sharp, and can't learn the ropes? Let us be ill fed, and our anæmic children after us!

But still the schools and the cook books and the magazines insist that each buyer shall learn to tell the quality of the thing he buys, and except in a very few of our commodities, such as serums and medicine, where not to be expert may mean summary death, it is taken for granted that if the purchaser gets cheated it is nobody's affair but his own. Business cries, "*Caveat emptor*, or take the consequences!" That might be all right if we ourselves *could* take the consequences. Besides, our buying covers so many commodities that it is not in our individual power to be expert about them all. How can we tell all-wool goods except by the label—till afterward? How shall we know butter from its substitutes? What coloring is used in canned beans? Whether our ginghams are fast colors, or our gas and oil up to standard? Only through experts on whose word we can depend, only through a trustworthy guarantee. The pure food laws, the milk inspectors, the city, State, and National laboratories, are efforts to take from our shoulders the onus of knowing the best when we see it. Isn't it a shorter road to home efficiency to have the products guaranteed at their source, *bottled in bond*, as it were, so that every home will be insured the best, than it is to produce a generation of amateur experts? Isn't it possible that efficient marketing includes not necessarily a knowledge of quality, but ability to get an official guarantee that will protect the ignorant buyer as well as the wise one? Can we afford to have our homes put out an inferior product either in health, in happiness, in taste, or in civic usefulness, just because the buyer of the family doesn't know good from bad? Society is the consumer of the products of the home. It suffers if these products are below grade. Hasn't Mrs. Watrous a *right* to the best, after all?

There's another attribute that the best things must have besides their own inherent quality; that is, convenience. It must be possible to buy them conveniently, and they must be convenient to use. We don't usually think of this element of convenience when we consider good marketing because we do not think of our time and trouble as part of the cost of what we buy. But the efficient manufacturer or dealer doesn't forget it for a moment. He makes his chief profit by appealing to our convenience. He does crackers up in packages and delivers them at our door at a telephone call. He knows that this is far easier for us than to walk a mile, buy them out of a barrel, and escort them home in a paper bag. He makes it easier for us to buy jelly than to make it, to buy our hats than to make them, to get everything as nearly as possible in the form and place where we are going to use it.

But things cost so much that way! Of course they do—in money. Says one Western mother:

"If you will consult the items of how I dressed my daughter on fifty dollars a year during her college course, you will find that I had to go bargain-hunting, leave early in the morning and be at the store when it opened. Many a time I came home again without having found a bargain, but everything I *did* buy was a bargain."

Was her daughter cheaply dressed in anything but the money cost? And yet this would generally be considered as good, efficient buying. What more is there to it than to get a good thing for as little *money* as possible?

Those who do not hold with this bargain-hunting view cry out that we must get rid of the middleman and keep his profits ourselves. Perhaps so. The man who grows a turnip and then eats it himself has eliminated the middleman so far as that turnip is concerned,

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and gets his turnip at the mere cost of his own exertions. If that is a cheap price to pay, let us proceed to the extermination of the middleman. There is a movement in New York City toward efficient housekeeping, whose president is quoted as saying:

"There will be an effort on the part of housewives to buy direct from the farmers. It will benefit them both. The housewives will revive the public markets. Please be sure of that."

Now, these women do not mean a market that is necessarily publicly owned and operated—they mean a place set aside by the community where buyer and producer can come together. There is just one point in favor of such markets—the decrease in money cost to the consumer. And it's no new thing to try to save money by patronizing them. Away back in the sixteenth century the Bishop of Lincoln advised his widowed kinswoman to save herself some of her income by going twice in the year to the great public fairs to make the chief of her purchases—her wine, her wax, and her wardrobe—because she could get them at a less price than from the traveling peddlers, who were the middlemen of her day. It was good advice—in sixteenth-century England, a primitive community.

A few weeks ago Mrs. North, the wife of a professional man in Ontario, wrote me:

"We have a large garden, for which the head of the family cares, where we raise all vegetables needed and a number of small fruits.

"I believe that the explanation of the cheapness of foods here is that we have an old-fashioned market. Every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday farmers from miles around drive into the city to market. The market-house is reserved for dealers in butter, eggs and poultry, cream and cheese. We have splendid displays of each commodity. The middlemen are absent altogether. My lady and my lord as well as those of humbler origin wend their way to market, and on Saturday mornings especially there are great crowds of buyers and sellers. Meat is sold in stalls around the market square, and some people buy by the quarter. In this climate it is possible to buy in large quantities if desired. Everywhere you look you will see people carrying fowls by the legs, and no one scorns to carry a market-basket."

Mrs. North is taking the best way in Ontario, in a primitive community, which she says is "seventy miles from a trolley car." If we reduce time to terms of industrial progress, most of us look back as far to Mrs. North living in Ontario to-day as we do to the Bishop of Lincoln, dead four hundred years. But only in buying green vegetables, dairy products, and fruit grown in the neighborhood can Mrs. North use the public market. She cannot buy her summer dresses direct from the cotton-growers of Texas, her crackers from the wheat farms of Dakota, her shoes from the ranchmen of Arizona, or her books from either the men that gather the stuff that makes paper or from us who write. The *reductio ad absurdum* is easy.

Of course it might be worth while reviving the public market just for the sale of provisions if the saving were great enough, but the money saving has got to be balanced against the cost in convenience and labor. If the time the farmer takes to sell his stuff, and the time the buyer takes to select and dicker for the goods, is of no value, then a public market may be a community economy. But in a developed society in which labor is specialized the time of a trained truck gardener or agriculturist is too precious to be taken from his job, and the time of the amateur buyer might be better spent at his profession or trade. With our growing specialization of labor, time has become too precious for such primitive traffic.

When people deplore the passing of this form of public market, they act as though it had gone through somebody's fault. But nobody can forcibly amputate an industrial institution from society as though it were an arm or a leg; such institutions disappear, like our ancestral gill-slits and swimming-bladders, because they have become useless. Nobody went out and feloniously slaughtered the unprotected public market; civilization simply stole away and left it to starve, as is the inhuman habit of advancement generally.

Of course we do still have a kind of public market even in some of our great cities, like Baltimore and Washington and New York, but they are not haunts of the producer by any means; they shelter the middleman just as truly as the great wholesale grocery does, and yet, even so, they are sometimes an economy—in money.

"We save a good deal of money by buying our meats, fish, eggs, butter, and vegetables in Washington Market" (a public market in lower Manhattan), writes a Brook-

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lyn gentleman. "We there get the benefit of cash purchases, but, as they do not deliver, we are obliged to carry our purchases home ourselves. I generally meet my wife after office hours for this purpose. How much we save was shown the other day when we had unexpected company to dinner. I was sent to the nearest butcher for eight lamb chops. They cost eighty-three cents. We could have bought them for half that in Washington Market."

This Brooklyn gentleman and his wife must spend at least twenty cents car-fare each time they go to Washington Market, probably twice that, unless they are good walkers; they must spend an hour apiece, at a minimum, and they must carry their stuff home. All these are part of the cost of their purchases. They have eliminated the cost of delivery boys, telephones, by becoming delivery boys themselves. If the time of the delivery boy is more valuable than their own, then they are buying economically.

Baltimore is trying to get rid of its public market, and Washington ought to, because they are unsanitary. The horses which bring in the produce to be sold and wait in the neighborhood to haul the profits home provide meanwhile the best breeding-ground for the "typhoid fly," which crawls delightedly over the food exposed for our buying; waste accumulates, and perfect cleaning is difficult. We buy cheaply at the public market, at the cost of cleanliness and convenience, the things for which we pay the middleman, and usually get rid, not of the middleman, but only of the delivery boy. To have the cities maintain public markets in order to bring the middlemen together for the sake of substituting our time and labor and that of the farmer for that of the delivery boy is a doubtful social economy. Rather we want the grocer and butcher in our block, so that the man of the house can leave the order on his way to work, or so that the tradesman can still further save our time by sending his boy for orders. Therefore, small stores multiply, even though we pay an excessive price for their convenience. We pay the small grocer excessively for the excessive risk he takes, for his ignorance of the best methods of handling (because he is not always an expert), and for the cost of his competition with the next grocer up the street.

Let me show how great this excess is by comparing what Mrs. North, of Ontario, spends to feed her family, with what Mr. Calvert, of Pittsburgh, pays to feed his. Both Mr. North and Mr. Calvert are professional men. Their families do not differ materially in their ideals of comfort or pleasure or clothes. Both use vacuum cleaners and electric irons, both have dispensed with a resident maid and depend on outside help, and yet, in spite of these similarities, one family spends $900 a year for food and the other $240. This is at the rate of nearly seventy-five cents a day for an adult man in one case, and less than twenty-six cents in the other. Mrs. North raises part of her food and buys the rest at the public market, without paying big or little grocer middleman's profits for most of it.

"Anything free in Pittsburgh?" writes Mr. Calvert. "No. It takes hard cash in every case to get what we want. Nine hundred dollars seems a lot for food, but wife is saving. Nothing is wasted. We procure the best the market affords, but do not entertain much, and are as plain in our eating as in our dress."

Now, Mr. Calvert would find it neither possible nor profitable to follow Mrs. North's example. Even if he could buy direct from the producer—which he can't—it would cost more in convenience, time, and labor than he could afford to pay. How many million years a day would be wasted if we all went to market and brought home our purchases!

Next to buying direct from the producer, the favorite road to economy seems to be to buy everything at wholesale—nothing in small quantities. A good many people advocate this course. They say:

"Flour should be bought by the barrel and kept in a warm, dry place" (or a cool, dry place—opinions differ).

"Buy your soap by the box and stand the bars on the shelf to harden."

"Buy your winter supply of potatoes in the fall and store them in a cool, dark cellar."

"I find it economical to buy coffee in twenty-four-pound boxes; keep it dry and warm, and grind it as needed."

"By buying the muslin for underwear by the piece I save many yards in the bolt."

"Several barrels of apples should be bought in the late summer and kept in the fruit cellar till wanted."

"Keep your carrots, turnips, and other winter vegetables under a light layer of earth in the cellar." (In New York earth even for flowers costs fifty cents a bucket, and cellars are rented by the square foot for sleeping purposes.)

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"Store your old pieces of carpet in the attic. When you have a quantity on hand, they may be woven into presentable rag rugs.'

"I have found that I save money by putting down several cases of eggs in water glass for winter use. By buying them last summer we have had eggs all winter at twenty-three cents a dozen, while other people have been paying twice that much."

A cellar, an attic, cool fruit closets, warm storerooms, barrels of apples and of flour, of sugar and potatoes, shelves full of breakfast food and soap and sheeting, boxes of coffee, crates of fruit, cases of eggs, gallons of oil—in a modern flat where would the *people* stay?

What this limitation of space means to the city buyer I know from experience. I lived for a year on the fourth floor of a tenement in the crowded East Side of New York. Our only source of heat was a coal stove. I had to choose between the laundry tub and the bathtub for a coal-bin. Necessarily I had to buy it by the sack, which, elevated to our flat by foot power, cost us eighteen dollars a ton for the same quality that the dealers were selling at six dollars and seventy-five cents. We had the wide choice between paying this price and going without heat. Of course part of the trouble was that a flat with no storeroom was allowed to be built. We were up against the city building laws, and there was *no* way of efficiently buying coal in that place without changing them.

But of course only part of us live in flats. The lack of space ought not to prevent the thousands of middle-class housewives, especially in the suburbs or country, from buying at wholesale. *It* doesn't—they have other dragons to fight. A Stamford woman, very anxious to make her housekeeping a smooth-running machine, said to me:

"I've tried out this buying-in-quantity idea. I estimated how much breakfast food and flour and sugar and canned goods and dried fruits and winter vegetables we would need, mentally fitted them into our cellar and storeroom, took a day to go to New York and order them from a wholesale place. They came, and of course we had to pay the freight charges to Stamford, which were high. As they couldn't walk up from the depot themselves, we had to pay express charges, which were higher yet. But even after I had spent a day getting them stored safely away I figured out that I had saved a good sum of money on the deal. But who shall guarantee the staying power of a beet! Things spoiled if I kept the cellar too warm, and froze if I let it get cold—you know we have real weather in Stamford! Mice appeared in the house, and the paper wrappers around cereals were just appetizers to them, and what the mice didn't spoil the mildew did. A musty taste came into the flour, and something happened to the sugar. Only the things in cans kept. By spring I had thrown away so much that what we had actually eaten had cost far more than as if we had bought it in the highest market."

"Perhaps you didn't take proper care of the things?" I suggested.

"Obviously!" she answered, with a magnificent scorn born of money loss.

I talked with a man who once lived in a big country house with ample cellars and attics.

"You used to buy your vegetables and fruits in large quantities. Did it pay?"

"Well," he said, doubtfully, "it paid, because there wasn't anything else to do. The markets were some distance away, and not very good at that. But we had to go through the cellar occasionally and pick out the things that were rotting. There were a good many of them, and we seemed to be always eating specked apples to save them."

When you buy from the grocer, you don't have to take specked apples, nor moldy cereal, nor damaged flour. You can demand and get supplies in good condition. The labor of storing things properly and the risk of deterioration are upon him. You pay him for this in profits instead of standing the risk yourself. And from the standpoint of the community, isn't it a saving of work to let him as an expert (which he should be, though he often isn't) do well what you as an ill-equipped amateur would probably do badly? From the facts, not the theories, which I have come at, it appears that wholesale buying by the individual home is not an economy where it can be avoided; that it is wiser to let the grocery be our storeroom once removed; the butcher shop, the refrigerator of a neighborhood; the department store, our well-ordered cellar and attic combined. From every standpoint but that of money saving, it is the efficient thing to do, and most of us are doing it. Convenience calls so loudly! But in the matter of convenience, just as in the matter of quality, we run head on into the matter of price. The best and most convenient things cost more than we can afford. How is the efficient buyer going to climb the money wall?

I sent out a little Noah's dove of a ques-

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tionnaire, and it brought back (besides accounts of wholesale buying) the meat boycott, the salesman's suggestion of something just as good as the genuine, the simple old-fashioned device of going without, and some experiments in co-operation. I don't know why we think of co-operation as something we are not already practicing, but for some reason we seem to regard it as the social equivalent of a bomb. Why, the only difference between a co-operative buying plant and an ordinary store is that in one case some man or company says:

"Go to; let me establish the Great A. B. C. Emporium. I will furnish the neighborhood with supplies and repay myself with profits."

And in the other case the neighborhood says:

"Go to; let *us* establish the Great A. B. C. Emporium. We will furnish ourselves with supplies and pay a man wages to run it for us."

From almost every State come accounts of these co-operative buying clubs. Now they deal in farm implements, now in eggs, now in dry goods and general merchandise. The little towns of Michigan and Kansas and Oregon are leaving provincial New York City behind.

"As to co-operation," writes a Minnesota woman, "the farmers in the State frequently form corporations under the State laws to own stores. It takes from four to five years to make these enterprises pay, but most of them do pay eventually, and the middleman's profit is cut out. I know of two co-operative stores. The farmers who own them aim to keep everything needed on a farm, not dealing in the finer kinds of dry goods, shoes, etc. They are general or department stores, and are well patronized not only by the stockholders who own them, but by their friends and neighbors."

The English co-operatives pay, and the Belgian, and so do many more, and for the simple reason that the middleman is made a household steward, once removed, and put on wages. He manages the co-operative at a fixed rate, which is sometimes less than the profits he was getting, sometimes more, but in either case has the advantage of certainty.

Is the co-operative buying club, then, the solution of efficient marketing? In Panama they have worked out a step beyond it.

In 1894 the high officials of the Panama Railroad organized a co-operative buying club, because the Panama merchants not only charged exorbitant prices, but did not carry such things as were wanted. There were twenty families in the original undertaking. It succeeded, and was bought by the United States Government ten years later with the Panama Railroad and put under the Commissary Department. The annual report of the Canal Commission for 1907 says:

"Supplies are furnished to the hotels, messes, kitchens, and employees by the Commissary Department, which has developed into a modern department store."

The report for the next year says:

"Through thirteen branch stores along the line of work the Commissary supplies ice, meats, bread, pies, cakes, ice-cream, and groceries of all kinds, as well as laundry service."

Mr. Albert Edwards, who has recently lived in Panama, writes:

"In one respect the Commissary is not like a department store. It does not sell shoddy cloth nor adulterated food."

No need in Panama for every woman to be her own expert!

"This does not sound like good business," he continues. "Nevertheless, the price of beefsteaks has gone steadily down—and other things in proportion—just at the time when the cost of living has been aeroplaning most dizzily in the States."

In 1910 the "Canal Record" said:

> In the United States at present the average price of live cattle is higher than at any time since 1882, and the average price of hogs is higher than at any time since the Civil War. The reduction of the price of meat in the face of these high prices in the States is possible because of economies that have been effected in running the Commissary system. The reduction in the price of meat has been gradual but constant during the past year. On January 17, 1909, porterhouse steak cost twenty-nine cents a pound at the Commissary; on February first the price was reduced to twenty-seven cents; on May 30 it was selling at twenty-five cents a pound, but as soon as the new meat contract went into effect the price was reduced to twenty-two cents, and it remained at twenty-two cents till February 1, 1910, when it was reduced to twenty-one cents.

"Despite the hoary tradition of our political economy," says Mr. Edwards, "hardly a month passes when the 'Canal Record' does not note some new economy which has been developed—some new nail driven into the coffin of middlemen's profits."

So far as I know, this is the only instance where a co-operative marketing association is being run by the American Government. Some of the army officers are organizing

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such an association in New York State, but only as members of any other profession might do it. The significant thing is that the Government-operated market of Panama is giving the whole community a combination of quality, convenience, and cheapness that so far we have been unable to get in any other way. And the people of the United States are doing this because they have recognized that this great social enterprise, the Panama Canal, cannot be carried through unless the *best* is brought within the reach of every worker—the best being, as Mrs. Watrous insists, his right and our advantage.

The function of the home marketer is a much bigger one than just to go out and buy things. It isn't to get something better than somebody else can because you know quality, to get something cheaper than somebody else can because you have a pull, to buy a poorer quality than somebody else can because you can make it do.

What is it, then?

Obviously, to get the best because nothing else will do, and to get it for the least outlay of brains and muscle and money, and to get it not only for yourself but for all the community. Not to go without, not to substitute inferior quality for good, not to step back into individual production or in any way substitute the work of the hand for the work of the brain and dollar; but to get through the most convenient channels the things we need, in order to give to society the best possible output in manhood and womanhood from *all* our homes.

HOW THEY LIVE IN MOROCCO

BY ALBERT EDWARDS

IT was once my good fortune to do a considerable service to a Moorish gentleman named Si Abd ul-Kader ben Hussein. When he heard of my plan to spend the winter in Mogador, he gave me a letter of introduction to his brother-in-law, Hadje Omar Azral. "Besides his own house," Si Abd ul-Kader told me, "he has a smaller one with a garden, which he will let you have, and he will find you a servant."

When the steamer brought me to Mogador and I had deposited my bags at the one hotel, I set out to find Hadje Omar. The best I could do was to locate his shop, which was locked and barred, and an acquaintance of his, who said he was in the country, and—*inch Allah*—would return in some days. I arranged to have my letter sent to him.

As the charges at the hotel are ruinous, the beds lumpy, and the food tasteless, I set out house-hunting on my own responsibility the next morning. Every European to whom I had introductions told me that it was very difficult to find suitable quarters. The last few months had seen a great increase in the number of foreigners. A couple of years ago there were hardly half a dozen Christian families. Within that time about twenty French families have come in and as many more unmarried men of all races. In the old days the foreigners had to live in the Kasbah, or fortress quarter, but now they have overflowed into the Moorish city, and some have been unable to find any house except in the very dirty Jewish Mellah.

Coming back to the hotel, tired and hot and almost discouraged, I found Hadje Omar waiting for me. My letter had reached him the previous night, and he had hurried back to welcome me. He was well along towards fifty, thickset and muscular—another ten pounds and he would have been corpulent. His expensive blue *djillob* and his immense turban marked him for a man of family and consideration. He could speak nothing but Arabic, but he had brought with him a young man who introduced himself in rather disjointed English as Muley Khamedo ben Djerid el Krakeb. He was still in the twenties; he had not yet begun to fill out. As he wore no turban, he was evidently unmarried. With the exception of his red tarboosh and a sort of vest of an indefinite color between cream and light blue, all his flowing garments were white. His title of "Muley" showed that he was a Shareef, a descendant of the Prophet. There are two families of the Holy Blood in Morocco, the Filali, to whom the reigning dynasty belongs, and the Idreesi. Muley Khamedo's white skin

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marked him as a member of the latter stock, for the Filali have intermarried with Negresses. In his broken English, helped out in crises by more fluent French, he made a little speech:

"Hadje Omar has read the letter of Si Abd ul-Kader. The friend of his brother-in-law is his friend. He is your servant. You are his two eyes and his right hand. He begs that you will honor him and his humble house by eating now a meal with him. He has very little to offer, but all is yours. And when you have eaten you will say what you desire and it shall be yours."

So off we started to Hadje Omar's house. While turning bewildering corners, stepping over mud-puddles, and dodging camels laden with thorny firewood, the old gentleman and I exchanged flowery compliments by way of Muley Khamedo.

At length we came to a blue—a shriekingly blue—door in a whitewashed wall. Hadje Omar banged the ponderous knocker and a female voice asked who was there. The Shareef motioned me to sit down on the settee which is built into the wall beside the door of almost every Moorish house, for entering one of them is a tedious affair. After Hadje Omar had assured the voice that it was really he, the master of the house, there was a grating of bolts and bars and he disappeared within. It took him at least ten minutes to stow away his women folk, and then he opened the door and asked me to enter. Up three flights of whitewashed stairs, past several closed doors all painted the same dizzy blue, we came to a large room, opening by a beautiful Moorish arch on to the flat roof. But, as the Moors value privacy more than scenery, the roof was surrounded by a five-foot wall. By standing on tiptoe I could see out across the bay to where the Atlantic rollers were piling up twenty feet of spray on the little island.

The reception-room, like most of those I have seen in the houses of well-to-do Moors, was furnished with a hodgepodge of tawdry European trinkets and articles of real beauty and worth. Prominent on the wall was an arabesque bracket of carved and painted wood, a fine specimen of native craftsmanship. On it was a cheap and formless German clock. The minute hand and pendulum were broken; so the hour hand, with a great clatter and buzz, raced around at ten times its legitimate speed. The floor was covered with rugs from Rabat, of gorgeous but unlovely colors.

Around three sides of the room was a low divan. Most of it was covered with a worn, time-tempered damask of old gold and greens. It looked to me like a mediæval Italian fabric, probably the spoil from some long-forgotten raid of the Barbary corsairs. It would be almost above price at home. But Hadje Omar did not know its history, and was surprised when I admired it. He was much prouder of a gaudy satin-covered quilt of modern English make which covered the place of honor on the divan. You could buy one like it in a New York department store for $3.47.

When we were seated, a coal-black slave boy named Peace brought us the *tass* for hand-washing. It was an elaborate brass basin, with a perforated false bottom, through which the soiled water runs out of sight. The *tass* is one of the most important utensils of a Moorish household. This one of Hadje Omar's was an heirloom, beautifully chased in the ancient fashion. But the kettle from which the little boy poured warm water over our hands was of cheap blue enamel ware.

Washing with the Moors is a ceremonial closely connected with religion. They consider us decidedly lacking in cleanliness. After all, a really scrupulous person would rather eat with his fingers which he himself had washed than with a knife and fork which some servant was supposed to have washed. Their custom of leaving their shoes in the vestibule is a sanitary precaution which we of the West will some day adopt. I have seldom felt so uncomfortably soiled as I did that first day at Hadje Omar's. I had been walking all the morning in the heat and dust of the street, and when I took off my low shoes my hose were not nearly so fit to be seen as my host's bare feet.

The meal was decidedly more savory than the alleged English cooking at the hotel. But of more importance to me, from my house-hunting point of view, was the conversation. I was to these two Moors a curiosity which I would not have been to Turks or Egyptians. I was, in their phraseology, a *taleb*, one "learned in the law.' I have often been in Mohammedan countries, and I have studied their religion as far as may be through translations. The profounder students of Arabic and Orientalism do not come to Morocco. The reason, I suppose, is that the language here is a debased dialect. But while Mussulmans of more Eastern lands are familiar with Christian scholars, students of their language

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and laws and customs, the Moors have taken their idea of Europeans from illiterate traders and soldiers. Neither Hadje Omar nor Muley Khamedo had ever before encountered an Infidel who was familiar with the Koran or the Life of the Prophet. So, besides being the bearer of a letter of introduction, I became also a person of note on my own account. And I am sure that it was the latter as much as the former reason that explained their subsequent courtesies to me.

When we had finished our mint-scented tea, I turned the conversation from the Unity of God to the question of where to live. Muley Khamedo said that this was already arranged. Si Abd ul-Kader had explained my wants in his letter. I was to honor Hadje Omar by occupying his other house during my stay in Mogador, and might Allah grant that it be a long one! And as for a servant, he, Muley Khamedo, would do his best to satisfy me in that capacity.

Now Si Abd ul-Kader had told me that I could hire an English-speaking servant for ten duros a month. I did not feel that I could offer so small a sum to a Prince of the Holy Blood. So I explained that my needs were very simple, and that I wanted a younger boy who would be willing to work for very little.

"You are the friend of a friend," the Shareef replied. "It could not be done to trust you to a stranger—a good-for-nothing from the market-place. Si Abd ul-Kader say in his letter you pay ten duros a month. It is enough. I am your servant."

It was apparently "Written in the Book." There was no escape from it. The Prince of the Holy Blood, Muley Khamedo ben Djerid el Krakeb, is my servant for $8.33 a month.

"Now," said Hadje Omar, "we will go and look at your garden."

We put on our shoes and went out again into the glare and dirt of the streets, and, after many more bewildering turns, came to another blue door in a white wall. Hadje Omar gave his name to the voice which replied to our knock. Bolts grated again, and the heavily studded gate was opened for us by a very small Moorish servant girl. She kissed the hand of Hadje Omar and of my servant, and led us into a pleasant garden. There was much dark-green foliage, relieved by clumps of brilliant geraniums and azaleas. Over all was the heavy scent of the wild narcissus. The orderliness of the place was unusual; the paths were swept, the bushes pruned. All this spoke of European care. The Moor prefers to let his garden go to seed, or, as he would say, to let it grow as Allah, the Great Gardener, wills. At all events, it was a beautiful place, and I was just formulating the conviction that it was indeed a kindly fate which had led me to Hadje Omar when a woman's voice asked, in purest French, who was there. The owner of the voice, clothed in a dainty Paris gown, appeared in the arched doorway beyond the garden.

Muley Khamedo, bowing very low—for it is not good to look on the unveiled face of a strange woman—told her that Hadje Omar had need of his garden to entertain a friend from America, and that she and hers were to vacate immediately. The look of dismay on her face was tragic. It developed that she was the wife of a French officer—an instructor of the police. They had rented the place from Hadje Omar some months ago, and, although there was no lease, they had expected to stay there permanently.

I explained to Muley Khamedo that, while I deeply appreciated the immensity of Hadje Omar's hospitable intentions, I could not allow him to dispossess a whole family on my account. My host tried to brush aside my objections. Was not the garden his? Was it not better to have a friend in one's house than a stranger? But, in the face of the lady's evident distress, I could not but stand fast, and at length I succeeded in backing out with the two Moors.

"But," said the Shareef, "why not? He is a dog, a Frenchman."

Later in the day, while taking tea with an English family, I related the incident.

"But why not?" They all echoed Muley Khamedo's question. "It would have served them jolly well right. The French think they own the earth."

The Moors are not the only ones here who dislike the French. The story has spread, and almost every one I meet regrets that I did not allow Hadje Omar to put this family on the street.

"They would have had an awful time," one Englishwoman said. "Everybody hates the husband. No one would have rented them a house. They would have had to go to the hotel or into the Mellah. Of course you're a stranger here, and didn't understand, but you missed a great chance."

Although I had not been here long enough to read this degree of Francophobia, I soon began to feel the cost of my courtesy. Available houses are very scarce.

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We went to Hadje Omar's shop, where he buys cereals and raw hides from his countrymen and exchanges them for the tea and sugar of the Infidel. As soon as we were installed on three comfortable cushions, word was sent out to the native news agency —a wireless system which antedates M. Marconi by many centuries—that Hadje Omar wished to rent a house for a friend. Hardly five minutes had passed when a white-haired old Jew, in kaftan, tarboosh, and slippers of black, came up jangling a bunch of keys big enough for a fortress. He led to another blue door in another white wall. It was an immense house. There were four big rooms on each of the three stories. Upon the flat roof the sun was hot and blinding ; downstairs it was dark and chilly as the grave.

" He ask ten duros for it," Muley Khamedo said. " He will take eight."

But it was too big, too damp and dismal. We went back to Hadje Omar's shop. Three men were waiting for us, each with a bunch of mighty keys. But, for one reason or another, my Moorish friends judged these houses unsuitable without having inspected them.

The next day was a repetition of the preceding one. We looked at three houses. The first two were impossibly dirty. The third was clean and airy, but preposterously big ; there were at least a dozen living-rooms more than I needed.

" How much ?" I asked.

There was a long parley in Moorish.

" He say twelve duro. He take ten."

It was rather depressing to think of living with so many empty rooms, but it was the one pleasant house I had seen, and there was a magnificent view from the roof. It was arranged that the man would come to my hotel at four with a witness to close the contract. I went to my room and packed. But he did not come at four. Muley Khamedo went out to look for him. The owner had changed his mind ; he would not rent. I told the Shareef to offer him more money. But no. Some stubborn, unaccountable Oriental cog had slipped in his brain, and the house was no longer for rent.

In desperation I went to the shop of Hadje Omar and told him that I would rent the gloomy house of the Jew.

" But," he protested, through Muley Khamedo, " you said you did not like that house. If you do not like it, why take it ?"

I explained to them that I was tired of house-hunting, tired of paying extravagant rates for very poor accommodations at the hotel.

" Hadje Omar say," the Shareef interpreted, " are you not his father and his mother ? His house is your house. Why you not come to live with him ? No good thing is done with hurry. In two, three days—*inch Allah*—we will find a pleasant house."

It is seldom indeed that an Infidel gets such an invitation. Partly for the unusual experience, more to escape from the hotel, I accepted. Hadje Omar proved an excellent host. We had many pleasant meals and several gallons of very sweet tea together, and we discussed everything from the French conquest of Morocco and the Turco-Italian war to the efficacy of fasting as a means of reaching up to God.

But, although I can sit cross-legged, although I can eat with my fingers and sleep comfortably on the floor, I need a chair and table to write decently, so I kept the project of house-hunting as much in the front as I could without seeming discourteous to my very kind host. However, things might have gone on in this indecisive way for a long time had not Hadje Omar been summoned to attend a wedding of the Kaïd Anflus in the interior. It was, of course, impossible to leave two unmarried men in his house during his absence.

There seemed to be no alternative but to take the dark and chilly house of the Jew. We found that it had been rented the day before ! And just at this crisis, as we stood disconsolately in the street, a man came rushing round the corner shouting, " Hadje Omar ! Hadje Omar !" and waving a bunch of keys.

He led us round some more corners to another blue door. I was evidently becoming a burden to my host, and before we reached it I resolved to rent this house, however it looked, whatever the terms. It was a pleasant surprise, when we entered, to find it the best place I had seen—excepting, of course, the beautiful garden of Hadje Omar, where the French people lived. There were a court, a kitchen and two rooms on the ground floor, and upstairs three sunny rooms and a little arched arcade overlooking the court. It was the airiest, lightest Moorish house I had been shown. I tried to conceal my glee for fear of pushing up the price.

" He say six duro," the Shareef at last informed me. " He take five."

" Done," I cried, and, calling on every one

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there present to witness the transaction, I handed out the money. I did not want to give this landlord a chance to change his mind. And so at last I gained possession of some keys —altogether they must weigh fifteen pounds. And the house, which exactly fits my purpose, costs the ridiculous sum of $4.17 a month.

Hadje Omar did not feel that he could leave until he had seen me installed. So the buying of furnishings began at once. I had a camp outfit, including a bed and some cooking utensils. An English friend kindly lent me a writing-table and some chairs. Hadje Omar donated a "*m'tarba*"—literally, "that which makes happy"—so the Moors describe a mattress. These things having been put in place, we went to Hadje Omar's shop. Once more word was sent out to the native news service—which reaches all corners of an Oriental town with much more despatch than our Western newspapers—that the friend of Hadje Omar wanted to buy blankets and rugs and mattings, or "*haseerah*." This last word is one often heard in Arabic, for the Moors, instead of saying "*sub rosa*" to denote secrecy, say "*taht el haseerah*"—"under the matting."

We had hardly seated ourselves when responses to our advertisement began to come in. Hadje Omar's dingy shop blossomed out into the gorgeous colors of Rabat and Susi rugs. About all one can say for the native carpets is that the colors are vegetable dyes. But in nine rugs out of ten the combinations of orange and purple and green are hideous to Western eyes. But the *battaneeyat* (blankets of belly wool), being white, or striped with one color, are always beautiful. The man who makes straw matting—it seems to be a monopoly—came in to say that his stock was sold out, but he would take my order and keep his apprentices up all night to fill it.

These matters having been attended to, Hadje Omar gave out a new statement; it consisted of a string of Arabic words—the names of all sorts of things from dish-rags to cooking-stoves. These latter are an important item in Moorish housekeeping. They are made of pottery, and cost from six to ten cents apiece. But you have to have a separate stove for each dish which needs heating. That first day we bought three—for the teapot, the frying-pan, and *couscous*. But, as I like coffee, I have had to buy two more for that—one for the coffee, another for the milk and so forth. Altogether my bachelor establishment includes eleven stoves.

The carpet-sellers folded up their wares and departed. The shop filled up again with potters carrying on their heads *couscous* bowls and water-jars, carpenters with tea-tables and clothes-chests, tinkers with lanterns and kettles, brass smiths with trays and basins.

Two or three times I saw articles which I knew I needed, and asked Muley Khamedo the price.

"Oh," he replied, "it is too soon to ask that."

The article would be passed from hand to hand for ten minutes before the momentous question was put. My efforts to hurry matters so evidently distressed my friends that I sat back and let them do things in their own way.

Buying and selling with the Moors is a sort of dramatic entertainment; it has its conventions and unities as formal as those of our own theater. But it is rudimentary. It resembles that class of plays which our critics group under the derisive title of "Ding-Dong Drama." Some one on the stage says "Ding," and you know at once that the protagonist will reply "Dong."

When Hadje Omar would finally ask the price, he and all the audience knew that the tradesman would ask three times what he expected to receive. But when he did follow tradition and ask the price which every one expected, Hadje Omar and Muley Khamedo would very cleverly pretend to be shocked and grieved.

But, although the variety of incident is very limited in this mercantile drama, it gives great play to imaginative invective and eulogy and to witty repartee. It is greatly appreciated by the audience. There is always an audience. You will sometimes see Moors actually running across the street to listen to a brilliant piece of bargaining. Hadje Omar's shop was crowded. Even the saintly anchorite who sits most of the day before the Grand Mosque declaiming the Unity of God and the holiness of Muley Abd ul-Kader stopped his devotions to come over and listen.

Was it a crockery stew-pan at issue, the real price being four cents and the price demanded twelve, Hadje Omar would push it aside in contempt.

"Dog and son of a dog!" he would roar; "I would not give two cents for it if I were buying it for a slave of a cow."

"*Ya*, Sidi," the potter would reply. "I am a poor man, dust under your wealthy feet. But it is a beautiful stew-pan, made

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from clean clay; my wife washed it carefully. I worked on it two whole days. Should I receive but one cent for a whole day's work?"

Hadje Omar laughed at this proposition. It was his firm conviction that a cross-eyed Jewess could make a better stew-pan out of dung in two hours.

"Well, ten cents," the potter would say when the laughter had finished. "Ten cents is a small price for so noble and rich a man as the American. Besides, he is not a true believer and will be damned."

"May a pig die on the grave of your grandmother!" Muley Khamedo would break in. "Will Hadje Omar let you rob his friend?"

"Well, noble masters, as he is the friend of Hadje Omar, perhaps Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, will lead him in the right way. I will give him the stew-pan for eight cents."

Finally I would get the stew-pan for four cents. Furnishing a house by this method is a long-drawn-out affair. But the interest of the audience never flagged throughout the long, hot afternoon. Hadje Omar and Muley Khamedo enjoyed their part of the performance immensely.

Only once was the bargaining interrupted. An animated bundle, wrapped up in a soiled white *haïk*, appeared at the door of the shop. An eye peeped out of a one-inch triangle near the top and two battered red slippers stuck out below—so I knew it was a woman.

"This lady come cook for you," the Shareef informed me. "She wife of dead man who worked for Mr. Hadje Omar. He say she moral lady. She cook with you for four duro a month. Cook, wash, clean dishes, house, everything. Will she do?"

Of course I knew that Mussulmans sometimes choose their wives without having seen them, but it had never occurred to me that they hired their cooks in the same trustful fashion.

If she was being presented to me as a possible wife, the fact that she was a "moral lady" would of course have great weight. But this consideration did not seem so pertinent in regard to a cook. So I questioned Muley Khamedo on her ability to make bread and *couscous*.

"Oh yes," he replied; "she cook good, good. She very old."

So, as he also would have to eat her cooking, I hired her on his recommendation.

One thing was very noticeable in the afternoon's shopping. Both the Moors preferred gaudy European articles to the handiwork of their own people. They insisted on my buying a tawdry English tea-tray instead of a beautifully chased copper one, which I could have had for the same money. When I wanted to buy a brass "*tass*," the equipment for hand-washing at meals, they were almost moved to tears, and would, I think, have been really offended if I had not given in to their urgings and taken a vulgar granite-ware wash-basin which would not be tolerated outside of the kitchen at home.

By the next day I was settled. The painter had still a bit to do, and one table was being finished by a native carpenter. But things were sufficiently in order to satisfy Hadje Omar, and he departed to the marriage feast up country.

The lightest room upstairs is my study and bedroom. The big table, the Belgian lamp, and the books give it a European look in spite of the flaring colors of the Rabat rug. The other big room is fitted up in Moorish style—low divans covered with red and white striped blankets about three sides and low tables for the meals and tea. The Shareef has his mattress in the smaller room. Downstairs Zinb—the Moral Lady—has her kitchen, a room to sleep in, and a storeroom for charcoal and provisions.

The four duros a month which I pay her seems to include the hire of her family. The first day I found a lad of fourteen scrubbing the courtyard. "It is the lady's son," Muley Khamedo explained. The next day the door was opened to me by a young girl of eight or nine. "It is the daughter of the lady's sister," I was told. At one time or another I have found "the mother of the lady's brother's wife," the son of another sister, the niece of her friend, and so forth. I have a shrewd suspicion that our inordinately large consumption of sugar and candles could be explained by searching some of these relations on their departure.

The lady herself has no dealings with me. She kisses the hand of my holy servant in season and out, but does not even look at me. When I ask her to do something in my few and painful Arabic words, she first goes and asks the permission of the Shareef.

It is a very quiet, peaceful life. At four in the morning the *moodhen* from the neighboring minarets begins the "call to prayer." He has a penetrating tenor voice. "There is no God but God," he cries four times, to the four winds of heaven. The *moodhen* from the Grand Mosque takes up the call in a

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deep basso. Faintly a baritone from a more distant minaret joins in the round. The final cadence goes: "It is sweet to sleep, but it is better to pray." I disregard the advice, and, half ashamed of myself, fall asleep again to the monotonous chant of the Shareef across the court repeating the Ninety-nine Most Beautiful Names of God.

The next thing I know he is knocking on my door at sunrise with a pail of water. Cleanliness and godliness are so closely connected in his mind, and his dread of cold water is so great—he steams the dirt from himself in the Moorish *hammam*—that he regards my morning bath as a religious ceremony of great solemnity. "*Bismillah*," he says when he hands me the pail, and "*El hamdu l'illah*," when he carries out the tub.

I find the table set with grapes and bread and wild honey and a pot of hot coffee. While I breakfast he cleans and airs my room. Then the day's shopping is arranged and I sit down to a morning's work, interrupted only by the occasional chant of a beggar at the door, asking alms for the glory of God and Sidi Hamed ou Mousa.

Lunch consists of eggs with vegetables and dates, and dinner rotates sometimes a meat and vegetable stew, sometimes a fowl fried in argan oil with grapes and onions, sometimes *couscous*. In these latter meals Muley Khamedo joins me, and we struggle with the Moorish dialect. The dinner lessons continue till bedtime.

The little community of Europeans here is divided into bitter cliques over politics. First of all, everybody else hates the French. But even the tiny English colony is split into factions which unite only on Christmas, the King's birthday, and other solemn occasions, when England expects every man to do his duty. But, being an outsider, the only American in the town, I have so far managed to keep out of the squabbles. And when I tire of my princely servant, of my books, and of riding in the foothills, I can always find a civilized welcome, a cup of tea, and newspapers.

The other morning I cast up accounts and learned several Arabic bookkeeping words. The installation has cost me about thirty duros; the rugs and brass work will be of permanent value. The fixed charges for the month are:

Rent	5	duros
Prince Khamedo	10	"
Zinb and her relatives	4	"
	19	"

Three weeks' marketing accounts point to about as much again, making a total of forty duros a month, or about thirty-five dollars. I doubt if many bachelors are living as comfortably at home for so little.

SINCE WE MAY CHOOSE[1]

BY ERNEST W. NELSON

Since we may choose where our last dust shall dwell
  When this brief incarnation shall be ended,
  Whether in grassy mound, by dear hands tended,
Under a cypress, near a chapel bell;

Or, deeper still, beneath the surge and swell
  Of seas wherein the Spirit first descended—
  Primeval mother of all empires splendid—
Out of whose depth evolved Life's miracle;

And though they claim us—earth and sea and air—
  Are we but star-dust, billows, blossom-spray,
Or ashes guarded in a Grecian urn?

Spirit, divine and free, is everywhere,
  While beauty, love, and sunlight seem to say,
Of God thou art, to God shalt thou return.

[1] This poem was suggested by the series of articles on Immortality in The Outlook. The author wrote, not as an idle dreamer, but "to the music of steam presses and factory whistles."

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THE SPECTATOR

ALL over the audience the portrait of Washington stared one in the face. Every boy and girl had a programme, and from its outer page the Gilbert Stuart picture of the Father of his Country looked out in benignant calm. The holders of the programme were of all ages and sizes; the row of youngsters in the front seats being probably eight, while farther back the high school lad and lass prevailed. The Heminway prizes, awarded in Boston every year on Washington's Birthday in the historic Old South Church, are offered only to graduates of the Boston High and Latin Schools of the classes of the two preceding years; but all sorts of children from the grammar grades come too to take part in the patriotic exercises. Besides, the Old South History Club chooses its members from among the successful essayists, and this introduces a grown-up element which is as enthusiastic as the rest. The ushers were Old South History Club members, and the orchestra, playing away manfully at the overture from "Semiramide," was a high school orchestra.

Yet the youthful audience was hardly a Yankee one. Here, in the very center of New England history, its inheritors were Slav and Hebrew, Irish and Polish and Italian. The little red school-house may be full of Yankee boys and girls, but the Boston schools are not, to judge from the crowded rows of sleek black heads. There were few children with eye-glasses, and many with chewing-gum. But when it comes to American history, there is no lack of interest or knowledge among them. The subjects that day were not obvious and easy ones. There were two of them, each with a first and second prize offered. The first subject was "The Railroads West of the Mississippi in their Origin and Development." The second was "The Attitude of France toward America in the Civil War."

When the name of the first-prize winner, "Isaac E. Simons," was read, there was much applause as a dark-haired lad came forward, and the speaker explained further that this was the winner of the second prize last year. The second prize was won by a girl who was not present, being ignorant, of course, that she was a prize-winner, but her sister hastened down from the gallery and received it for her proudly. Two boys, one with a most Hibernian name, won the two prizes for the second subject; and after they had come up and received them amid much hand-clapping, all the contestants, successful or otherwise, were asked to remain and meet the Old South History Club in a side room, after the meeting was over, and become acquainted.

The oration, by a well-known and delightful Boston speaker, himself a descendant of Paul Revere, was on "Washington as a Man." It is hard for American children, in a way, to think of Washington except as a historical lay figure, especially with the cherry-tree story to go upon. The Spectator never had the feeling in his youth that the immortal George was quite human, any more than Alfred the Great, and confesses that he had a certain prejudice against both of them. But in the Old South, where the contemporaries of Washington gathered and harangued, where Warren climbed in at the high back window to speak to the crowd below, and where Adams and Revere and Hancock and the rest were familiar figures, it was very human to hear about the fiery temper of the great Virginian, and his hardly won patience under a myriad difficulties, and his embarrassed modesty in the face of praise, and his dislike of show.

But when the orchestra played, and there was a clarinet solo by a Greek boy, the attention was deeper still. One dark-eyed Italian of about twelve kept marking the time with his forefinger, following the leader of the orchestra with rapt interest. After the solo the orchestra went on with a *Volkslieder Kranz*, a delightful medley of national airs—the "Wacht am Rhein," the "Marseillaise," "Yankee Doodle," the Portuguese Hymn, the Austrian national anthem; and at last "The Star-Spangled Banner" was sung by all the audience, regardless of race or nationality, as one man. One boy hung over the seat behind the players, where just his head and shoulders could be seen, like a Raphael cherub, and never stirred until the last note had died away and the celebration was over. To call such youthful citizens "aliens" is to make a very fine distinction, surely. Were not the Pilgrims and Puritans, the Dutch and Swedes and Huguenots, aliens when they landed in the New World? And was it not an Italian who discovered America, anyhow? Where would George Washington have been if Columbus had not sailed?

The Spectator met four more George Washington portraits a few days later. They were ranged on easels in front of a platform in the Art Museum, in a hall where casts of antique statues, huddled in the alcoves until wanted for the art students' class, peeped out at the patriotic meeting that was being held by the George Washington Memorial Association. In order to stimulate interest in the subject, prizes had been offered to the students for the

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best copy of the Gilbert Stuart portrait in the Museum, and the four prize-winning pictures were on view.

The Father of his Country is not likely to be forgotten. As one vivacious friend of the Spectator put it, "George Washington has done extremely well. He has Washington named after him, and the State of Washington besides, and the Monument, and a Birthday, and Mount Vernon—and what *does* he need another Memorial for?" On the other hand, the kind of memorial which this latest George Washington Association proposes is undoubtedly needed on its own account, whether attached to Washington's memory or not. Our capital city, unlike that of other countries, has no worthy meeting-place for the holding of congresses and conventions, National and international. The natural place for such great societies to assemble is Washington, and the building of a great Washington Memorial, with halls for conventions, and headquarters for National patriotic, scientific, educational, literary, and art organizations, would contribute materially toward the development of the Nation in every direction. A central site has been asked for from Congress, with good hopes of getting it, and half a million dollars has already been raised. George Washington buttons, shining in gold and color, with the head of Washington and his autograph signature reproduced on each one, have been bought by over thirty-five thousand school-children over the country, so the speaker said, each child thus becoming a member of the Association. One of these portrait pins, with a certificate of membership, was given to each student competitor for the art prizes. There had been twenty-three copies made, and two girl students won the first and second prizes, two young men coming in for third prize and honorable mention.

One of America's greatest architects, after the presentation of the prizes, went on to speak of the architectural future of Washington. Although every other American city had been "planned in imbecility and worked out in stupidity," Boston had largely escaped, he declared, and Washington was a hopeful exception. The Spectator confesses to a sneaking fondness for sky-scrapers himself. But then he is an architectural ignoramus—and that Washington is increasingly beautiful is a thing beyond doubt. The four placid faces of the Father of his Country seemed to look approval upon the artistic audience, and upon the architect's dictum, "A great building is the most appropriate memorial for a great man." May the parliament of men, the federation of the world, some day gather under the splendid roof of a mighty George Washington Memorial beside the Potomac!

THE NEW BOOKS

Fathers of Men. By E. W. Hornung. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.30.

Mr. Hornung is identified in the minds of a good many readers with "Raffles," the accomplished gentleman burglar; a well-drawn character, though one too well equipped with good qualities to furnish the safest kind of reading for boys. But Mr. Hornung has also written interestingly about boys; and his new book, "Fathers of Men," though dealing with boys, is a story for older readers. One of the masters in the school so well described in the story declares that the English public school is "a melting-pot for characteristics, but not for character." The boy in whom the interest of the story centers is the son of a marriage between the daughter of an English rector and a groom, and the child learns the world first in the coachman's quarters and the stable-yard. When the father dies, his grandfather takes him in hand and sends him to a public school, where he makes his appearance as a crude, unformed, sensitive boy of low birth among a group of the scions of the best English families. He is far from being a coward. He has a good deal of delicacy of feeling, and he has a boy's sense of honor. The dramatic interest of the situation is produced by the presence of the son of the gentleman whom his father served as coachman. The question is, How will this boy, whom the boy of low birth played with as a child, treat him? Very skillfully Mr. Hornung holds back the answer until near the end of the story. He characterizes some of the teachers and the boys with great skill, and tells the story of school life in such a way as to hold the interest of older readers. The school is the world in small; and the boy, whom the other boys promptly call "Tiger," makes his fight and learns the lessons which are to be confirmed in the larger world.

John Rawn. By Emerson Hough. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.25.

Mr. Hough is here trying not so much to write a novel as to inculcate a lesson—the public danger in an ambitious, relentless man who despises idealism and democracy, and would use power and wealth to crush out all aspiration from the average man. Rawn thinks he has in his grasp a scientific discovery which would revolutionize industrial conditions and substitute his patent

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electrical wireless transmission and air-storage of power in the place of all the steam and electric engines now in use. He steals the idea from its real inventor, is able to demonstrate it on a small scale, persuades great capitalists that they must obey him or go to the wall, frightens Wall Street to its wits' ends, and almost makes himself an industrial monarch. What he tried to do without limit other capitalists are doing in a restricted field. The oppression of greed and egotism is a real danger, and Mr. Hough's imaginative picture of the evil in a supreme form offers its own application to modern conditions. The book has vigor, but as fiction it is rough and hurried in execution.

Love in a Mask. By Honoré de Balzac. Rand, McNally & Co., Chicago and New York. $1.

This story has only one interest, and that is a minor interest—it is said to have been written by Balzac and presented by him to the Duchesse de Dino in recognition of her unfailing kindness. The manuscript remained incased in a finely tooled binding for half a century, then the present Duc de Dino presented it to a friend, and it now appears for the first time in print. It is neither a long nor a good story. It is a little tale which is neither pleasant nor profitable. Balzac was rarely at his best in writing a short story, and he is very far from being at his best in this story. The motive is almost identical with that of another much inferior book, also neither pleasant nor profitable, "Three Weeks."

Butterfly House (The). By Mary E Wilkins Freeman. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.25.

Mrs. Freeman's new story is disappointing, not because it deals with life in a New Jersey suburban town rather than with the New England types that made her earlier books so instinct with life, but because there is no sharpness of outline either in character or subject. The village woman's club, as an object of mild irony, has become a stale topic; there is nothing especially vivid or exciting about the doings of the men and women here presented, and the main plot-incident, in which one woman steals from another the credit of the authorship of an anonymous novel, is not altogether probable.

Many Celebrities and a Few Others. By William H. Rideing. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York. $2.50.

During his long editorial connection with the "Youth's Companion" Mr. William H. Rideing has had unusual opportunities of seeing the literary world and knowing writing people. An Englishman by birth, coming to this country when he was still a young man, he was connected first with a Newark paper, later with the Boston "Journal" and the Springfield "Republican," and still later with the New York "Tribune," the New York "Times," and the "North American Review." Becoming associated with the "Youth's Companion" in 1881, Mr. Rideing's editorial experience has not only included many forms of writing, but the larger and very interesting work of detecting the subjects in which people of ability are interested and persuading them to discuss these subjects. This book of reminiscences is starred with famous names, English and American. There are pen-portraits of the New England school of writers—Holmes, Aldrich, and others; of Stedman and Mark Twain; and there are studies of the English writers Hardy, Reade, Mrs. Oliphant, Besant, and many others, with interesting impressions of men in public life. Mr. Rideing has also had intimate associations with the stage. In fact, he confesses to have written a play. He knew literary London during the Victorian period, and he has known literary Boston for a great many years. He is a genial companion, a pleasant talker, and an equally pleasant writer; and those who love the flavor of the literary association of a generation ago will get in this volume the atmosphere of "Oscar's," in Fourth Avenue—a café which was, for the bohemians of that time, a second "Pfaff's."

Amateur Gardencraft. By Eben E. Rexford. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.50.

No matter how many books on gardening appear, spring-time wakens in the mind a new interest in the latest publication. Eben E. Rexford, a well-known authority, writes of "Amateur Gardencraft" in the most good-natured and enticing manner. The home-maker and garden lover are appealed to on their weakest side. Even a tiny lawn, or a small vine-covered veranda, or a wild garden, or window-boxes, can be improved and the owner encouraged by these comfortable chats upon the subject. There are no vegetables in this garden—only flowers, and the kind anybody can raise.

Charles Dickens as Editor. Selected and Edited by R. C. Lehmann. The Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $3.25.

The Dickens centenary has brought out many contributions to the knowledge of the details of his career, and one of the most substantial is the volume "Charles Dickens as Editor," a collection of letters written by Dickens to his sub-editor, William Henry Wills. Very few readers of his novels realize how continually and ardently, so to speak, Dickens was an editor as well as a novelist. With very few and unimportant intervals, he sat in some editorial chair for one-third of a century. He began with "Bentley's Miscellany" in 1837; and when he died, in 1870, he was still editor of "All the Year Round." He established the "Daily News" in 1846, "Household Words" in 1850, and "All the Year Round" in 1859. The drudgery of daily journalism sometimes found him a rebellious subject; but he was an ardent worker, for whom no task was too great. He wrote, edited, directed,

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and suggested; for editorial work with him was not a matter of routine, but of the application of brains to the management of a journal. These letters are about all manner of subjects; some of them rich in character skits, some of them mere records of detail, with here and there a bit of inimitable Dickens writing. Speaking of his business manager, Dolby, who was well known in this country, he said: "Dolby's legs stand as they did. His right eye becomes inflamed, of a morning, only when he goes out, after I go to bed, to treat the local agent. He appeared at breakfast one morning at Liverpool with three glasses of gin and water and two cigars distinctly to be seen under his right eyelid."

Moving Pictures: How They Are Made and Worked. By F. A. Talbot. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $1.50.

This is an extremely interesting and graphic account of the manufacture and use of moving pictures, with particular reference to the tricks resorted to in order to bring about some of the queer effects which have been exploited for the amusement of many thousand people. The illustration begins with a reproduction of the first moving pictures ever taken, twelve photographs by Mr. Muybridge of a horse in full gallop—a series of pictures which revolutionized the ideas before existing as to the actual movement of the horse in action. As to the curious "stunts" performed by the producers of moving pictures, the record is varied and queer. To quote one only: an elaborate and photographic explanation is given of the series of moving pictures in which an automobile appears to cut off a man's legs, after which the man gets up and chases the automobile on his stumps, whereupon the occupant of the automobile gets out and sews the man's legs on, and the latter departs rejoicing. This absurdity required for its actual performance an astonishing amount of ingenuity and accuracy by a considerable number of people. The capture of Troy by the Greeks through the wooden horse expedient is another of many curious things here depicted. Altogether the book has a strange fascination, and is undoubtedly the best exposition of what has become an important commercial and, one might almost say, dramatic feature of our times.

Criminal and the Community (The). By James Devon. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.75.

A rarely comprehensive and illuminating work comes from an authority well qualified by long and wide experience, medical, official, and social—Dr. James Devon, of Glasgow, an eminent pleader for reforms in criminal jurisprudence and penology. Though dealing only with the situation existing in his own country, his work is mainly pertinent to the situation here. Thorough in the analysis of his material and ample in the treatment of its numerous details, both sympathetic and sane in his views of criminals and the conditions which breed them, there is hardly any point in his complicated problem which Dr. Devon omits to touch critically, suggestively, and practically.

Free Will and Human Responsibility. By Herman Harrell Horne, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

This title will not attract many readers. But one who opens the book with slight expectation will discover that Dr. Horne treats this age-worn but perennially vital question in a new and interesting way. His former pupils in Dartmouth College were accustomed to discuss it under his guidance, and those discussions are here condensed into a brief exposition of both sides of the controversy and the conclusion ensuing. The controversy is not so hopeless as it may have seemed. It ends when each side discovers truth in the other side also. The course of human life, while largely determined by God, is in part determined by man himself, in full responsibility for his use of his limited freedom of choice. His own will cannot count for everything, but it does count for something in the course of events. To what Dr. Horne has said of this we may add that full scope for free self-direction of the human will within the divine will, in which it has its being, is given in that indefinite variety of ways in which it must be possible for the divine will to realize its ends through an effective but non-interfering control.

Coming Generation (The). By William Byron Forbush, Ph.D. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

"The Coming Generation," by William Byron Forbush, is an exceptionally sane and interesting effort to give an account of the forces that are working for the betterment of American young people. Professor Shailer Mathews points out, in an Introduction, the flood of severe criticism upon various phases of our modern world that has almost overwhelmed us, leaving many of us disheartened. The present volume and its projected successors, under his editorship, are designed to bring before us the actual achievements of social betterment, the steady advance in correcting evils and in establishing laws, institutions, and precedents looking toward the genuine improvement of social conditions. As he says pungently, we are thoroughly informed as to our social liabilities; the present series will list our social assets. The author's style is attractive, and a vein of unashamed Christianity, too often lacking in modern discussions, gives a sound basis to the arguments advanced. Diffused, not diluted, Christianity is an unmistakable asset and a most valuable one in all modern movements. The honorable recognition of this source of good is frequently absent. The author divides his subject into five books: "Betterment through the Home;" "A Better Start, or Eugenics;" "Betterment through Education;" "Betterment through Prevention;" and "Betterment through Religious and Social Nurture

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and Service." Thus the ground is covered. The reader is encouraged, enlightened, and strengthened, for the author holds no brief for any pet project, but weighs all in just scales and sees the good as well as the evil. If the series continues as it begins, the results in activity and straight thinking will be most satisfactory.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

A SYRIAN VIEW OF THE ITALIAN WAR

I venture to say that the editorial in The Outlook of January 6 entitled "America's Opportunity" expresses the desire and hope of every American missionary whose privilege it is to live and to work in the Ottoman Empire.

When the startling news reached us that Italy had determined to seize Tripoli, the report seemed incredible, so flimsy were the grounds upon which Italy based her action, and yet the restraint of feeling on the part of Ottoman subjects in view of this wanton aggression has been a remarkable evidence of the degree of civilization which has been reached in the Empire. In the very first days of the war word was received in this large city from Constantinople that all foreigners, and especially Italians, should be treated with perfect courtesy. Indeed, some of the noblest qualities of Islam have been in special evidence at this time.

All this does not mean that the just resentment of the people has not been deep, and the grateful appreciation and the warmth of feeling which have been manifested on the part of officials and private citizens when we have expressed our sympathy for Turkey are a clear proof of this.

We long to see peace re-established, but upon the basis of honor. Turkey can better afford to endure suffering for a still longer period than to have a peace concluded which would encourage the idea that might makes right, or which grants to Italy that to which she has no legal or moral claim. HOWARD S. BLISS,

Beirût. President Syrian Protestant College.

SPORTSMANSHIP: A REPLY

Mr. Caspar Whitney is known as a typical American sportsman. Therefore his criticism of my article, "What is Sportsmanship?"[1] makes it evident that he did not attend the Olympic Games of 1906 in person, and was thus obliged to get his information at second hand. For no true lover of fair play could have seen half of the events there and still have come away with an exalted opinion of the Continental's sportsmanship.

It is clear also that he was none too happy in his choice of informants. For the only eye-witness of those games whom he quotes happens, curiously enough, to be the very Mr. Sullivan whose whitewashed account of the disgraceful weight-lifting contest was printed afterwards in the handbook of the games—the very account whose wrong impression my article endeavored to correct. Thus Mr. Whitney is trying to keep in the form of a vicious circle the tire I wish to puncture, and is trying to run over me with it into the bargain.

Mr. Sullivan's precision of statement needs no test more convincing than a moment's thought about his words which Mr. Whitney so triumphantly quotes: "I saw each and every event. . . . The best of sportsmanship prevailed everywhere." Considering that half a dozen events, in and out of the Stadium, were sometimes taking place simultaneously, at widely separated spots, and that Mr. Sullivan, as judge, was supposed to be usually focusing his whole attention upon a single one of these events, and that in his handbook he accused more than one athlete of unsportsmanlike conduct, it is plain that his statement looks in the direction of poetic hyperbole.

I fear that Mr. Whitney largely bases his idea of the sportsmanship of those games on the pleasant *Gemüthlichkeit* of Mr. Sullivan's official booklet. And now, armed with second-hand information, gained some time after the event, he would generously set me straight about incidents which happened under my very nose in the Stadium, in the fencing-hall, on the tennis courts, the discus field, the bicycle track, or in the harbor of Piræus—incidents which I thoroughly discussed at the time with my comrades and brother writers, and immediately afterwards, while dining or lounging in the Zappeion, with those brother athletes who had taken part in the incidents and with their opponents from the four winds. Moreover, I took notes of those incidents while they were still fresh.

If Mr. Whitney had actually seen and *heard* the much-disputed contest of the two strong men, and had faced the fearful pandemonium which the Greeks on the marble benches let loose each time Steinbach, the Austrian, stooped to lift the great iron bar, and if he had read the shamed editorials in the Greek papers next day, he would not now be so satisfied with Commissioner Sullivan's whitewashing of his—certainly most hospitable—hosts, nor with his severe censure of Steinbach for lack of sportsmanship.

If the limits of my article had allowed, I might have continued at great length with further

[1] The article appeared in The Outlook of November 11, 1911, and the criticism in The Outlook of February 17, 1912.

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instances of bad Continental sportsmanship at these games; such as that of the Italian athlete who "slugged" the German judge because of a displeasing decision.

Mr. Whitney declares at second hand that Robertson could not have won the heat in question over Hahn, because Hahn, forsooth, "was there to win," just as if all winners were elected before the event and labeled with official red tape so that none other should dare to pass them! Many experts on running, however, who were actually present, declared that Robertson might easily have won, and that the heat in question was a magnificent exhibition of team-work.

Now, in praising this team-work as sportsmanlike, I realized, of course, that I was adventuring upon the highly debatable and subtle ground of track ethics. Opinion to-day is rather sharply divided upon the question of whether a running team is a team or a set of individual stars. Personally I hold that in any race where it is possible for a team to win more than a single "place," good sportsmanship demands that the personal glory of the individual runner should be subordinated to the general good of the team. Nobody objects to runners of the same team "pacing" each other. Then why should any one object to the innocent strategy of blanketing an opponent from receiving the added stimulus of another's "pace"? Now in the incident under discussion Robertson interfered in no way with his British competitor, except by depriving him for a second, at great personal sacrifice, of the emotional stimulus of Hahn's "pace," thus probably winning two "places" instead of one for America.

Finally, Mr. Whitney imputes to me—and then proceeds to chide me for—a "low estimate of French lawn tennis." And this despite the fact that neither in "What is Sportsmanship?" nor elsewhere have I ever written so much as a monosyllable about French lawn tennis.

As various writings of mine bear witness, I am an enthusiastic appreciator of the Continental. But it does not appeal to me as either sportsmanlike or essentially kind to the Continental to whitewash his gravest defect.

ROBERT HAVEN SCHAUFFLER.

AN ARCHITECT'S PROTEST

Your two editorials anent the Lincoln Memorial in The Outlook of February 10 are dignified, perfectly orthodox and proper, and probably most commendable. When the sacred and mighty Art Commission says so and so is such, it behooves editors and laymen and we smaller architectural fry to echo, "Aye, aye!" and with loud applause.

Still, there are some not of the faith. Will you allow a wee small voice—from out of the desert, as it were—to be raised in protest? It is heterodoxy, blasphemy, I grant you. But I am weary of Art Commission classicism and of copying classic forms for all of our important buildings and monuments. And I know that in expressing that weariness I voice the sentiments of hundreds of my architect *confrères* and thousands of thinking laymen who also feel it, but wouldn't dare say so.

The Commission has done good work in formulating a plan for the improvement of Washington. At heart I may not love that plan, but clamor for it nevertheless, because it is a case of *any* plan being better than no plan at all, the hodgepodge and haphazard placing of buildings that went on before. But I do most humbly protest against the ultra-classic craze.

We Americans boast of our ability, but, ye gods! what paucity of expression is there in our art when we must go back thousands of years and to vastly different climes for models and types of buildings with which to serve our modern needs! Our railway stations have to be replicas of Roman baths or Greek temples. Our homes, our banks, and our tall commercial buildings must be likewise classically garbed and becolumned. It is classicism running amuck! Do we need a dog-kennel, then let it be patterned after the Temple of Juno, columns and steps and pediments and all, but, mark you, of the very greatest purity and proportioned most exactly as the prototype of old!

The elect have gone into raptures over the Bacon design for that Lincoln Memorial—a few columns and an entablature for a lid. Mr. Bacon is an able man and could do something really good, but he doesn't dare. The Commission wouldn't look at anything but another done-over antique. Of course there is a lot of purity and all that, and no end of symbolism to it. Those columns represent the number of States we had in Lincoln's time, and no doubt the flutings of the columns likewise typify the number of counties in each State, and the proportioning of all the details is most perfect and strictly according to the Hoyle of classicism. We do so love the ruins of antiquity, the broken columns! and some of us feel, particularly the Commission, that we too should have something of the kind. Hence the great desire for things that will crumble artistically. Not so long ago some one seriously and officially advocated the acquisition and re-erection here of a ruined Greek temple. Others wanted to simulate such ruins. And others insisted upon making a portico or other "monument" on the Mall out of the battered and worn-out columns taken from the old Treasury façade, so as to make people of refinement imagine they really were in some ancient forum or other.

But what's the sense of so far-fetched and classic a monument as this thing that is being advocated for so typically American, rugged, and unconventional a great man as Lincoln?

Why not divert that $2,000,000 toward a fund for a great States Building here, a Convention Hall, a National Hospital, a road, a bridge—

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something that *means* something, that is of some practical value as well as being beautiful, and that would be a far more fitting memorial than the perfectly useless, hackneyed, tiresome imitation Greek temple they propose?

Washington, D. C. F. W. FITZPATRICK.

THE INJUSTICE OF AMERICAN JUSTICE

For some years I have been reading with great interest your editorials variously styled "The Injustice of American Justice," "The Law's Delays," "The Denial of Justice," and other like titles, and I have been impressed with the effort, as I believe, on your part to treat these subjects fairly, and to present to the reading public the defects in our system of administering the law, to the end that such defects may be remedied. Nearly thirty years of active service, both as a practicing lawyer and a trial judge, has convinced me of the great opportunity for substantial improvement in our administration of the law; and while I fully realize this, I realize, too, that many of the things that are spoken and written touching this subject are unfair, unjust, and in many cases not true. In your issue of February 10 of this year appears an editorial entitled "The Sluggishness of Justice," and the object of this communication is to suggest to you what is deemed to be the unfairness of this editorial—unfair more in what is left unsaid than in what is really written. You state to the reading public that just lately a young man was executed in your State for a murder which he committed March 24, 1910; that he was tried and convicted within thirty-four days after the commission of the crime, and yet twenty-one months elapsed between his conviction and his execution. There you stop, leaving the reader to conclude that all of this delay was properly chargeable to the manner in which justice is administered by the courts of this country. It would indeed be interesting, as it would be fair, had you gone a little further and advised the public of the occasion of the delay—how much time is given a defendant by the laws of your State within which to perfect his appeal; how many times, and for what lengths of time, did the Executive stay execution, and what other delays took place in that case—delays over which the courts had no control, and with which they had nothing to do. I am not familiar with the criminal practice in the State of New York, but venture the suggestion that the delay of which you speak was occasioned by the defendant's availing himself of the time given to him, as a matter of right, by legislative enactment, to prepare his case for the criminal Court of Appeals, and, no doubt, some of such time was occasioned by appeals for clemency to the Executive.

I have in mind two cases with which I was connected that illustrate more fully the point I am trying to make. In January, 1907, a murder was committed in this State. One full year elapsed before the sheriff was convinced that he had sufficient evidence to warrant him in causing the arrest of the defendants. The arrest was made in January, 1908, and the defendants, two in number, were brought to trial in April of that year, April being the earliest possible moment fixed by the law at which the defendants could be brought to trial. They were tried separately (a right given them by the people), and the trial of each consumed ten days. They were both convicted, and in July, 1908, were both sentenced to life imprisonment in the penitentiary. But now comes in the delay.

The people of our State, by legislative enactment, have said that such defendants have two full years in which to file their appeal in the Supreme Court. This time these two defendants took to the full limit, notwithstanding the fact that the record in both cases could have been prepared inside of sixty days after the conviction. Two full years elapsed, the entire time given by the people to have the appeal filed in the Supreme Court. Having been filed in July, they were set, at the next session of that Court, which convened in September, 1910, for hearing in January, 1911. A continuance was granted because of the illness of counsel, and on July 7, 1911, the decision of the trial court was affirmed and the causes ended. The newspapers and other publications point to these cases as examples of the law's delays, or the delay of justice as administered by the courts, and yet the trial court disposed of them within sixty days, and the Supreme Court passed upon them within thirty days after they were submitted to that Court, but three and a half years elapsed from the time of the arrest until the cases were finally determined. In these cases the delay was occasioned in large measure by the defendants availing themselves of the time given them as a matter of right by the people.

I believe no one realizes more fully than do those who have the administration of justice in charge the defects in legal procedure and the necessity of having such defects corrected. You inquire why are these defects not corrected? There may be many reasons, but one potent reason I have observed during the last quarter of a century is this: that too frequently it occurs that the dominating personages in the Legislature of our State are men who are engaged, for the most part, in the defense of criminals, and hence are not slow to crystallize into legislative enactment the many things that encumber and impede the trial of criminal cases.

C. A. SMART,
Judge District Court,
Franklin County, Kansas.

[Nothing that we have said should be construed as an intimation that the law's delay is due to the dilatoriness of judges. The fault is deeper. It is in our laws and procedure.—THE EDITORS.]

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BY THE WAY

The New York Central Railroad is planning to utilize the space above its terminal tracks in New York City by erecting hotels and office buildings which will, it is expected, pay interest on the entire cost of the vast terminal improvements. The hotels will appeal to the traveler because of their accessibility, and the great office buildings are expected to house many business men who now have to travel downtown, but who would welcome a business location that would bring trains for their homes or for almost any part of the country directly to their office doors.

A writer in the "Christian Register" tells of a visit by Booker Washington to Florida, and of the enthusiasm with which the colored educator is received by those of his race who have longed to meet him and who see him for the first time. "I saw," he says, "one old man cling with both hands to Dr. Washington's right hand, and, with tears in his eyes, exclaim again and again, 'I'ze takin' hol' o' Booker Washin'ton's han', I sho' is!'"

The Japanese seem to be "keeping up." The guns on their new cruiser, the Kongo, now building, are to be the heaviest yet mounted on any warship, surpassing even those of the British battleship Lion. Each of the Kongo's eight guns will weigh eighty-five tons, and will fire a shell weighing 1,869 pounds.

An item that ought to please the Peace Societies appeared the other day in the New York City papers, to the effect that hundreds of revolvers, dirks, stilettoes, and other deadly weapons, removed from dangerous citizens by the police under the provisions of the Sullivan Law, were taken down the bay and sunk to the bottom of the sea. A step toward universal disarmament.

An unnamed benefactor has given $2,500,000 to the Boston Institute of Technology. The donation is to be used for the erection of new buildings on a new site.

The bandit business has its risks, even in the Southwest, where a sparse population and magnificent distances have sometimes made it easy for train robbers to escape with their booty. A courageous express messenger recently killed two of these desperadoes while they were looting a Texas train, and saved the company's and passengers' property. When business gets as bad as this, the surviving "gun men" of Texas might as well look for honest jobs.

A new record for ski jumping was made last month in Norway by an American, Oscar Gunderson, of Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, who jumped the extraordinary distance of 163 feet. American humorists, in hitting off the Scandinavian way of pronouncing the letter j, must have had this feat in mind when they coined the phrase, "Yiminy, what a yump!"

A bronze statue of Horace Greeley was placed on view at the Metropolitan Life Insurance Building in New York City a few days ago. Mr. William Ordway Partridge, the sculptor, has presented Greeley as the prophet and reformer rather than as the philanthropist, emphasizing the rugged strength rather than the geniality of his countenance. The statue will be erected at Chappaqua, New York, near the old Greeley farm, in June.

German rivalry has occasioned some perturbation in England, but it has been left to France to administer a body-blow to English pride at its most sensitive point. French boxers have won a victory over English devotees of the manly art! The tradition that only the Anglo-Saxon knows how to use his fists has been rudely shattered by recent contests in France, in which—mark the names!—Georges Charpentier defeated Jim Sullivan, "the pride of Bermondsey," and "Digger" Stanley met his match in Monsieur Poesy!

The Pope has indicated his opposition to dueling by accepting the resignation of Count Pecci, nephew of the late Pope Leo XIII, from command of the Palatine Guard of Honor. Count Pecci had been involved in a dueling affair.

A mass-meeting was held in New York City last week to urge the passing of an ordinance requiring the placing on tenement-houses, saloons, theaters, and hotels of a plate bearing the name and address of the owner. The object of this "little tin plate" is to "make the owner of a building take a healthy interest in his property," especially if it is being used for socially objectionable purposes.

China is modernizing itself so rapidly that it is in danger of losing its picturesqueness. The "North China Daily News" reports that the ancient walls of Shanghai, Hangchow, Canton, and other cities are to be demolished. And yet some European walled cities—such as Chester in England, Carcassonne in France, Toledo in Spain—regard their walls as their most treasured possession, incontestably linking them with the heroic age.

Can a woman be a successful "magician"? A contemporary wizard says that she can, and that in London there are many society women who have taken a course in wizardry as a means of becoming proficient in some kind of "parlor trick" by which to entertain company. It does seem, though, that a magician without coat-sleeves to pull back, as a preliminary to doing his marvels, would be fatally deficient in paraphernalia.

Over the door-posts of a fraternity club-house in the Middle West, says a writer in the "Century," is the inscription, "Thou shalt not loaf;" and the quoter of the sentiment commends it as especially applicable to those college men who look upon fraternity privileges as inviting them to "inconsequent and foolish play, the dissipations of social events, and the autocracy of athletics." He says, however, that there is a plain tendency among the members of the fraternities to face the dangers as well as to enjoy the advantages of such societies.

Americans who can keep only one servant, and who often cannot keep that one very long, sometimes sigh for the supposed domestic tranquillity of the Old World—and yet here is a paragraph in the London "Times" saying that a certain Marquis was summoned to a London police court for "keeping four male servants without having licenses," and fined forty shillings, with costs. Life is not without its troubles even for Marquises with several servants.

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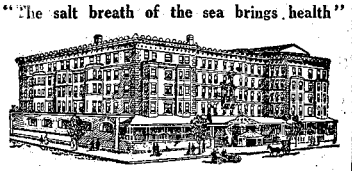

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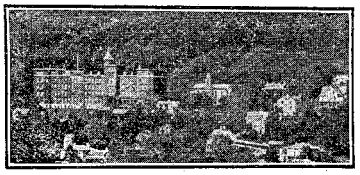

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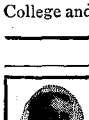
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